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The Shape of Things

EVERYONE KNEW THE LABOR POT WAS BOILING under the lid of war-time controls. Now the lid is off, and steam is pouring out in the form of wage demands and strike threats. Those who pretend to be shocked might remember that labor has never accepted the justice of the Little Steel formula, however modified, and that strikes were inhibited for patriotic reasons rather than reasons of self-interest. What should have been done was to anticipate the troubles that are now about to explode. Labor's own proposals for orderly reconversion in major war industries should have been considered instead of being brushed aside. The Full Employment bill should have been pushed through so that plans to take up the slack of jobless workers would now be ready to apply. Federal legislation for unemployment insurance to tide war workers over the reconversion period should now be on the books instead of in committee. Today the country is unprepared to meet the industrial crisis precipitated by the abrupt ending of the Pacific war. The result is likely to be a new war, this time a domestic industrial one. As we go to press, the coming conflict in the automobile industry is still in the sparring stage. The 30-per-cent wage increase demanded by the United Automobile Workers will almost certainly be rejected by General Motors, which has been selected as the first battleground. The union will thereupon demand a strike vote in accordance with the provisions of the Connally act. Then the issue will be clearly joined, and an attempt will be made to win a decision through pressure, bargaining, and an appeal to public opinion.

*

IN MANY WAYS THE TIMING OF THE FIGHT is unfavorable for the workers. With hundreds of thousands of men being laid off in war industries all over the country, a wage demand faces enormous obstacles. But it is important, none the less, for the union to attempt to establish its position before wage-and-hour standards crumble and union ranks are hopelessly depleted by unemployment. That position has been effectively stated by officials of the U. A. W. and also by Philip Murray, speaking for the steel workers. Both insist on the enormous profit margins achieved by the war industries as contrasted with the savings possible, at war-time price levels, to the workers. The U. A. W. points out, in defense of its demands, that the companies are already cushioned by price increases granted in 1941 and 1942 against the impact of new wage rises. Rejecting management's claim that if the 30-per-cent increases are allowed the price of cars will have to go up accordingly, the union is prepared to show that the increase can be absorbed and still

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leave the companies a good profit. It recommends, in fact, stricter price controls in order to stimulate car buying and thus keep up production levels. These claims and counterclaims will be thoroughly aired during the weeks of controversy that lie ahead. But if they are to result in a workable program of industrial development, it is essential that the government take the positive measures already under consideration to build a full-employment economy and mitigate the effect of temporary dislocations.

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GENERAL WEDEMEYER'S PLAN FOR EMPLOYING American troops to garrison several important Chinese cities —including Peiping and Tientsin—"to assist in bringing order to the occupied areas" implies direct intervention in China's civil conflict in behalf of Chiang Kai-shek. While Chiang has been able to reassert his authority in the Yangtze valley and the Canton area of South China, he has no troops and little influence north of the Yellow River. Peiping is reported to be still in the hands of Japanese puppet troops. The entire area both north and south of the former Chinese capital has long been under the control of the resistance forces organized by Yenan. General Wedemeyer has already announced plans to ferry Kuomintang troops to Peiping in American planes; his desire to use American troops as an additional occupying force apparently arises from the discovery that Kuomintang troops alone cannot stand off the resistance forces. Presumably well-equipped American troops could hold the city, much as the Japanese have held it, despite the numerical superiority of the guerrillas. The impropriety of using American men drafted to defend their country against Axis aggression for bolstering Chiang Kai-shek's unpopular regime does not seem to have occurred to General Wedemeyer or Ambassador Hurley. Washington, however, is reported to be still "studying" Wedemeyer's request for additional troops. We wonder how much study would be necessary if the parents, wives, and friends of the men selected for this assignment would begin asking their Congressmen questions about this new "Archangel" expedition.

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THE NAVY HAS ANNOUNCED ITS INTENTION of setting up a magnificent target for whatever new engines of destruction may beset us in future years. Through the chairmen of the two Congressional committees on naval affairs, navy planners have set forth their objectives: a peacetime fleet of 1,079 vessels, including 18 battleships, 3 42,000-ton aircraft carriers, 24 Essex-class (27,000-ton) carriers, ten light (11,000-ton) carriers, 79 escort carriers; permanent personnel of more than half a million officers and men; progressive replacement of obsolescent ships and equipment; and—oh, yes—research in and development of new weapons. One may be pardoned for feeling that the program is perhaps a little grandiose; one might inquire gently, "Where, gentlemen, do you propose using this Gargantua? Against whom? In what cause? And had you heard of the atomic bomb? The pilotless explosive missile? The radar-directed explosive? The land-based high-altitude bomber with the 5,000-mile range, already obsolete?" As I. F. Stone pointed out in another connection recently in these columns, the brass hats remain undaunted. The mentality which could produce such a plan was neatly reflected in Admiral McCain's remark just before his tragic death: "Give me the fast carrier force and you can have the atomic bomb." The same mentality produced the Maginot Line and the disaster at Pearl Harbor. It is the mentality which always plans for the next war in terms of the last, the mentality which says aloud, "Good enough for pappy, good enough for me," the mentality which, if unchecked, will produce in a decade or two a disaster of far greater consequence than Pearl Harbor.

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SECRETARY ICKES'S WARNING TO THE PHILIPPINE government that it had better purge itself of collaborationists before it gets on with elections comes just seven weeks after *The Nation* carried the first story of the post-liberation role of reactionaries and collaborationists in Manila. It seemed quite apparent that this undemocratic development was taking place with the approval, if not the open sponsorship, of the American army authorities; in fact, many active guerrilla leaders who had fought the Japanese throughout the occupation but whose opinions happened to be left were languishing in jail. Mr. Ickes's sharp challenge has already had its effect, and the elections are to be postponed. But Mr. McNutt, as the newly appointed High Commissioner, will have no easy task in assisting in the rebirth of Philippine democracy. The collaborators have worked their way back into positions of high authority, they have the active support of the Islands' economic feudal overlords, and the democratic forces are weak and scattered. A beginning has been made, however, and we are glad to see that our scrappy Secretary of the Interior has shown where Washington stands in this basic fight for independence.

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THE SECRECY THAT SURROUNDED THE POTSDAM Conference may explain how an interesting item of news failed to reach the correspondents. *The Nation* has just learned that before the resolution on Spain was finally formulated by the Big Three, Stalin asked that the United States and Great Britain completely break off diplomatic relations with Franco: this seemed to be called for by the resolution presented to San Francisco by Ambassador Luis Quintanilla of Mexico, which barred Spain from the United Nations organization. Such a course would have established in fact a united policy on Spain among the major powers, since Russia has consistently refused to have anything to do with the puppet fascist regime that somehow has survived the general débâcle of fascism in Europe. Apart from wanting a united policy based on the San Francisco statement, Stalin is said to be motivated by a concern over the activities of the Nazis who have found refuge in Franco's sanctuary. Recently American correspondents have reported that the German exiles, now fully recovered from V-E Day shock, have been arrogantly boasting in the coffee-houses of their plans for the future. There are reliable stories of the reorganization of German espionage and propaganda serv-

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ices in Spain, of agents in constant touch with South America, particularly Argentina, and of newly built terroristic groups operating over a wide area between Barcelona and Lisbon. The Germans are also pressing for the reopening of their schools, which had been fully Nazified during the Hitler period. Apparently the old teachers are at their posts, ready to take up where they left off. Stalin was obviously fully justified in demanding a complete diplomatic break with Franco. It would be interesting to know who was responsible for substituting words for action.

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MEANWHILE, THE SPANISH REPUBLICAN GOVERNment in Exile, through the secretary of the Basque delegation in London, has submitted a note to the Council of Ministers formally requesting recognition in place of the Franco government. Obviously, this must be the primary objective of the new Republican Cabinet; it must win substantial diplomatic support or relinquish power to a more effective and representative group. But the action in London was at least partly neutralized by an astonishing statement made at a press conference in New York by Fernando de los Rios, the new Foreign Minister. Dr. de los Rios did not support his government's request for recognition. Instead he urged the Big Five to demand that Franco release political prisoners, allow a free press, and recognize democratic rights in Spain. Does this mean that if Franco acceded to these demands, à la Argentina, the Republican Foreign Minister would be prepared to forgo restoration of the Republic? If not, what does it mean? In view of his government's action in London we can only suppose that Dr. de los Rios spoke carelessly and out of turn.

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BUT WHILE DIPLOMATS WRANGLE OVER SPAIN'S political fate, the human fate of thousands of Spanish democratic fighters is left to the uncertain mercy of voluntary relief. In France there are still perhaps 150,000 Spanish Republican veterans and their families stranded without any kind of organized support. Many of the men have been fighting in the democratic ranks since 1936—actively, as part of the French, British, and American armies, or in the FFI. Today they are men without a country; not even the UNRRA is permitted to help them. They and their civilian compatriots are without clothing, medicines, food, jobs. More than 20,000 ill Republican soldiers, recently returned to France from German war-prisoner camps, are on the waiting list of a hospital in Toulouse, which can do nothing for them unless it receives money and supplies. On Monday, September 24, the Spanish Refugee Appeal is holding a mass-meeting at Madison Square Garden in New York to raise funds for the Spanish Republicans in France; these funds will be distributed by the Unitarian Service Committee. We urge all readers who can possibly do so to attend the rally and those who cannot to contribute directly to the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee at 192 Lexington Avenue, New York.

✳

ARGENTINA, LIKE SPAIN AND OTHER SATELLITES of the defeated Axis, will not benefit from the lifting of export restrictions recently announced by the FEA. It will, in effect, be ostracized from the post-war trade expansion upon which it had counted to strengthen its shaky economy. Nor is the political situation any steadier. Last week Foreign Minister (for less than a month) Juan Isaac Cooke resigned because of "ill health"—possibly induced by a conversation with Spruille Braden which the latter termed the most constructive one he had during his stay in Buenos Aires. Less heartening was the fact that the Supreme Court, which many Argentines had hoped would serve as an interim government, has declared itself lacking in authority to withdraw recognition from the Perón regime and to govern the country itself. It had been petitioned to do so by the presidents, deans, and faculties of leading universities and by other pro-democratic groups. Accordingly the Argentines will have to find some other way of removing Perón, and it may be less pleasant. The nation-wide lawyers' strike, the resumption of classes in the University of Buenos Aires by secondary-school teachers dismissed last month on account of pro-democratic activities, the strike of transportation workers in Buenos Aires, and the defection of several powerful unions from the government-dominated C. G. T. to the pro-democratic U. O. L. (Local Labor Union) show the rising temper of the people. Last week the government closed U. O. L. headquarters and arrested six members in a desperate effort to stem the flow of unions into that organization, which has declared it will call a twenty-four-hour general strike "when circumstances advise."

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OUR NATIVE FASCISTS HAVE PLANS FOR veterans and are busy setting out the bait. They count on doing a rushing business if and when mass unemployment builds up among veterans a mass resentment against society. Some of these plans were brought to the attention of the House Committee on Un-American Affairs last week in a letter signed by Edward J. McHale, executive secretary of the American Veterans' Committee. He wanted certain organizations looked into because of their sponsorship and, in some cases, their stated aims. Here are a few:

The Servicemen's Reconstruction League, sponsor Joe McWilliams;

The Nationalist Veterans of World War II, sponsor Gerald L. K. Smith;

The Protestant War Veterans, sponsor Edward J. Smythe;

The American Order of Patriots, Houston, Texas, labeled for Gentiles only;

The St. Sebastian Brigade, sponsor Father Charles E. Coughlin;

The Military Order of the Liberty Bell, anti-Negro, anti-foreign.

Mr. McHale suggests that "unless their true aims are exposed to public scrutiny, many service men may unwittingly fall prey at home to the same principles and forces they fought against abroad."

✳

IN A RECENT DECISION THE UNITED STATES Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, by extracting the fangs of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association of Los Angeles, has finally concluded a fifty-year struggle for industrial democracy in Southern California. Founded in 1894, the M & M has for years been one of the most powerful open-shop organizations in the nation. It was the enact-

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ment of an anti-picketing ordinance, drafted and sponsored by the M & M, that precipitated a period of industrial violence in Los Angeles which culminated in the dynamiting of the Los Angeles *Times* on the evening of October 1, 1910. Indeed, the M & M has a long and ugly record. It has engaged in extensive industrial espionage, financed anti-labor employers, imported strike breakers, employed professional gunmen, trained employees to resist the trade-union movement, and inspired the formation of countless company unions. Under the terms of the decree upheld by the Ninth Circuit Court, the M & M and its affiliates, Southern Californians, Inc., The Neutral Thousands (TNT), and the Employers' Advisory Service, are permanently restrained from interfering with the formation of labor unions or contributing support to labor organizations, and the M & M is required to notify all its members, contributors, and supporters that it has terminated these and similar activities. The decision closes one chapter in industrial relations in Los Angeles and opens another. Los Angeles will never again be the "white spot," "the open-shop citadel," of America. The hearings in the M & M case, embodied in a transcript of twenty-one volumes with a thousand exhibits, consumed seven months. The trade-union movement of Los Angeles owes a deep debt of gratitude to David Sokol, formerly attorney for the National Labor Relations Board, for his vigorous prosecution of the government's case against this bastion of reaction.

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DEATH TO UNION ORGANIZERS HAS BEEN threatened by the mayor of Reform, Alabama. He recently told J. F. Hynds, executive council member of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, that "someone would be found dead" unless the union were broken up at once. The local police chief has served notice that he will take the law into his own hands and do the job himself if the union is not disbanded. For some time the union has been sending its members to work on seasonal jobs outside the town. Apparently the mayor and some local employers object. For on August 23, shortly after several members left to work in a New Jersey canning plant, a union officer was summoned by the police chief to appear in the mayor's office. When he did so, threats of violence were made by the mayor and the police chief. A sawmill operator who was present joined in, saying, "If any more Negroes leave here, we are coming after you." The good white folk of the town are understandably attached to their low-paid Negro workers, and naturally they don't want them coming home with fancy ideas about freedom and decent wages. Since federal and state laws protecting unions apparently don't operate in Reform, the Workers' Defense League has urged United States Attorney General Clark, to restore civil liberties there.

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FOR SOME MONTHS THE MEXICAN COMMITTEE Against Racism, with headquarters in Mexico City, has been conducting an aggressive campaign to expose discrimination against persons of Mexican descent in the state of Texas. Recently the committee charged that insultingly discriminatory practices had been found to exist in 150 Texas towns, notably in New Braunfels, Pecos, Snyder, Spur, and Melvin. The reaction to these charges in Texas has been amusingly ambivalent. After making a blanket denial of them, the New Braunfels *Herald* explains that "the so-called discrimination practiced in Texas is based not on race but on cleanliness and behavior; segregation is not discrimination." And the manager of the New Braunfels Chamber of Commerce is quoted by the San Antonio *Light* as saying: "We do not have discrimination for reasons of race or religion. The only discrimination which we practice is for social reasons and for reasons of healthfulness." It would seem that Texas has unwittingly entered a plea of "guilty" to the charges and should now be sentenced. Perhaps the United States should send an army of occupation to the Texas border counties and annul, by proclamation, these odious Nürnberg practices which deny persons of Mexican descent, many of them citizens of the United States, access to stores, restaurants, and places of amusement. The disingenuous defense entered by the state of Texas to the charges constitutes the best proof that segregation is per se discriminatory. While continuing to press its charges, the Committee Against Racism has tactfully announced that it "knows very well that the North American people are not racists and that only the most backward sections of the United States have a mentality like that which predominated in Europe during the Nazi domination."

Why Help England?

IT SEEMS to us that the first point to be kept in mind in the current Anglo-American conference on a substitute for Lend-Lease is that the cost of reconstructing the homes and economies of our allies must be counted as part of the cost of the war. Ethically, as the one member of the United Nations coalition which was enriched by the war, we ought to shoulder a large share of that cost. Politically, we have as big a stake in the reconstruction of Britain as in that of Western Europe and the U. S. S. R. In the long view their return to health is essential if they are to play their respective roles in a coalition strong enough to prevent a German *revanche* until we have had time to bring a new generation and a new point of view to birth there. A wise and far-seeing estimate of future political possibilities also dictates a generous course, lest the impoverished European allies be brought together by envy and resentment against the one power which, for the second time in a generation, has benefited financially by a world war.

If ethical imperatives and political acumen fail to move us, let us at least recognize economic necessities. Economic isolation is even less feasible for us than political isolation. A restored and expanding world market is essential to our prosperity and political stability. Our very wealth of productive resources, given the unplanned and anarchic character of American capitalism, makes us more dependent than most industrial countries on the shifting tides of the world market. We have most to lose from the deflation and disorganization of that market. With our war-expanded capacity to produce, we must boost our foreign trade to higher levels than ever before if we are to achieve anything like full

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employment at home. If the world market is free and expanding, full employment can be attained at home with a minimum of interference with so-called "free enterprise." The decline of the world market would progressively widen the extent of governmental interference and direction necessary for full employment.

The abrupt shutting off of Lend-Lease was critical for Britain; it may prove equally critical for us. In the past our trade has risen or fallen with the volume of our international lending. The precipitous drop in American exports from 1929 to 1932 exactly paralleled the sharp drop in American loans. There was a similar parallel movement in the slump of 1937-38, which only a new world war prevented from developing into a new world depression. But those declines dwindle in importance beside the sudden ending of a system by which we made available $44 billion in purchasing power to our allies in the short space of four years. It was Lend-Lease which boosted our export trade last year to three times the 1929 level. Sixty-two per cent of our cotton, to take but one example, was sold abroad under Lend-Lease. The sudden wiping out of so huge a market is a serious matter for American industry and agriculture, and in the absence of an adequate substitute we may find ourselves on an economic toboggan slide.

There is a shrewd observation in the report by the Senate's Post-War Planning Committee, "The Problem of Post-war Employment and the Role of Congress in Solving It." The committee said, "The mass purchasing power necessary to maintain a healthy mass production must come from the American people in purchases of consumer and capital goods. If it does not come from them, mass production cannot be maintained *except through subsidized exports* and a governmentally supported public-works program" (our italics). The war experience showed that all three are necessary on a huge and unprecedented scale to assure full employment of our vast potential in men and machines. But the fact is that ever since becoming a creditor country in the First World War, we have preferred, by one means or another, to subsidize exports rather than lower our tariff walls and accept goods in payment. The $17 billion we lent our allies in the First World War, the $17 billion of private foreign lending during the '20's, the $17 billion we spent buying gold from abroad in the '30's, were all disguised forms of export subsidy. The biggest was Lend-Lease, which totaled $44 billion. In each case the fact that these subventions not only kept our factories busy but enabled us to expand them constituted our repayment. Reconstruction grants or loans without interest will differ in only one essential from these devices of the past.

The essential difference is not that we are asking Britain and other Allied countries to establish "freer" trade as a condition for subventions of this kind. The difference is that Britain is in no mood to borrow much from us unless it is assured that we will take the steps necessary to rationalize and expand world trade. The first requires a willingness on our part to permit repayment in goods; to buy as much as we sell abroad. The second requires a determination to take the steps necessary to maintain full employment at home. For if the United States, which now provides half the world market, is prosperous, the rest of the world will be prosperous without resort to currency depreciation, export quotas, imperial preferences, or systems of blocked accounts. It is we, with our towering tariff walls and export bounties, who have sinned most against free trade. As former Secretary Morgenthau wrote in the New York *Herald Tribune* the other day, "The problem is not to browbeat or cajole the British into embracing the system we desire, but simply to make it feasible for them to participate in it." Britain was our best customer before the war. The Empire group forms one-fourth the world market. Their reconstruction and participation in an expanding world economy are as important to us as to them, and the cost is far less than the cost of another world depression.

Unregenerate Japan

GENERAL MACARTHUR'S orders abolishing the Imperial General Headquarters, clamping a censorship on the domestic press, closing the Domei news agency, suppressing the Black Dragon Society, and rounding up a number of the principal war criminals are rightly being hailed as necessary acts for cleaning out Japanese militarism. But it is difficult to reconcile these apparently sincere efforts to eradicate militarism with the opening of American publicity channels to the most insidious kind of Japanese propaganda, designed to confuse the American public and weaken our occupation policies. For the past week or so American newspaper readers have been fed a steady diet of statements from Japanese militarists, politicians, and industrialists in which each has sought to dissociate himself completely from responsibility for the war and its calamitous consequences for Japan. It appears from these statements that not a single Japanese leader—Togo, Tojo, Konoye, Suzuki, or any important industrialist—desired war. There suddenly seems to be an utter absence of militarists in Japan.

While the average American undoubtedly reads these protestations of innocence with a considerable amount of skepticism, few newspaper readers have sufficient knowledge of Japan to sift the false from the true. The net result can hardly fail to be what the Japanese intended—confusion about our occupation policies. When Tojo declared, before his attempted suicide, that history would absolve him of responsibility for starting the war, few Americans were taken in. But when Prince Konoye represented himself as a constant seeker for peace and declared that if he had been permitted to talk with the late President Roosevelt he could, with the Emperor's help, have avoided war, his statement had a degree of plausibility. For not many persons remember the clever manner in which the myth of Konoye's "liberalism" was used as a cloak to conceal the military's plans for the attacks on China and the United States. A month after the first of the supposedly moderate Konoye governments took office, the war against China was launched. The second Konoye government entered into a formal military alliance with Germany and Italy, and the third government was in power when plans were laid for the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Even more deceitful are the protestations of the indus-

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trialists. In a special dispatch to the New York *Times* George E. Jones attributes Japan's downfall to the "incessant friction" between Japanese militarists and business men, and quotes a Japanese industrialist as declaring that freedom of speech is essential to liberate business from the cruel clutches of the military. Other industrialists have been given space in our press to plead for American assistance to rebuild the industry destroyed by our bombing. At a five-course steak dinner sponsored by leading members of the *Zaibatsu*, American correspondents were told that without American aid large-scale unemployment would develop, which might "lead to dangerous thoughts, such as socialism." Obviously, there is a certain amount of truth in the industrialists' complaints against the militarists. Some rivalry among the various Japanese factions making up the ruling group did exist. But what the American public will not learn from these skilfully dressed up dispatches from Tokyo is that the industrialists and political leaders played as active a role as the militarists in planning Japan's bid for world mastery. Nor can they be expected to know that many of the wartime restrictions which the industrialists now blame on the militarists were in reality sponsored by the *Zaibatsu* to strengthen their hold on the Japanese economy and lay the basis for an imperialist expansion of their power. While the spokesmen of the *Zaibatsu* and the pre-war political leaders are filling American newspaper columns with their carefully prepared handouts, the truth about the role of these groups in Japan's war preparations never appears in the press because the oligarchy alone has access to American correspondents.

It is difficult to say who is more to blame for permitting the Japanese ruling group to pour this propaganda into the American press—MacArthur, the correspondents, or our newspaper editors. Since the press rarely exercises self-restraint in such matters, the chief responsibility apparently rests with the occupation authorities. They have clamped down on Domei, whose chief crime seems to have been that it scooped the American press on several occasions, but have done nothing to stop the propaganda flow at its source. It will be recalled that the same situation arose in Germany, but that after Göring had taken advantage of American press facilities to present his case before the world the American military authorities clamped down on all interviews with German war leaders.

The misleading picture of Japanese war guilt which is being foisted on the American public is the more dangerous because General MacArthur is apparently personally unaware of the role which the *Zaibatsu* and the so-called moderates played in the preparations for Japan's bid for world domination. Not a single industrialist, financier, or party leader is listed among the forty war criminals whose arrest has been demanded of the Japanese government. In defending himself against the accusation that his occupation policies so far had been "soft," MacArthur rightly pointed out that some caution is necessary until the military phases of the occupation are further developed. But the anxiety which has arisen over MacArthur's policies concerns the direction rather than the speed of his actions. Undoubtedly some of Japan's war criminals will face Allied justice. But punishment of a few individuals will be meaningless as long as the feudal social and economic structure that bred Japanese militarism is allowed to remain intact.

The New Reservationists

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, September 14

THE strategy of the fight against the Full Employment bill is the strategy of the fight against the League of Nations. There is one relevant difference between Henry Cabot Lodge and Robert A. Taft. Lodge at one time in his life favored some kind of League to enforce peace.

Taft's is the more consistent record. The senior partner in Cincinnati's leading corporation-law firm has always believed, and continues to believe, that full employment is not only incompatible with a capitalist system but undesirable under one. If he could afford to speak frankly, he would agree with the article in the London *Times* quoted by Beveridge, "Unemployment is not a mere accidental blemish in a private-enterprise economy. On the contrary, it is part of the essential mechanism of the system, and has a definite function to fulfil . . . it maintains the authority of master over man." But neither the American climate of opinion nor the narrow margin by which Taft was reelected to the Senate permits him the luxury of such plain talk. Except in private, he has given up the view that the fight for full employment is the result of a kind of Communist plot. Taft is now for full employment, and at the moment he is for the Full Employment bill. But he is for it with reservations, and these reservations, like Lodge's to the Covenant, are designed not to perfect the bill but to cripple it.

Without greatly intensified effort by progressive forces, Taft may be successful. It was only by a tie vote that the bill managed to squeak past the Taft amendments and out of the Senate Banking and Currency Subcommittee yesterday. The going will be rougher in full committee, where the wrangle to whittle away the bill will be resumed on Tuesday. It has been the fate of this measure to undergo a constant process of "perfection," first by its friends and now by its enemies; it has grown constantly vaguer in the process. The original proposal, as made in August, 1944, by James Patton of the National Farmers' Union, may have been crude, but it was concrete. It was based on the generally accepted view that it will take a volume of output of about $200 billion at current prices to maintain full employment; and that about $40 billion of capital investment a

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year is required to maintain production and employment at that level. Patton proposed that the federal government guarantee that level of investment, estimating the expected private investment annually and planning to fill the gap—it would be considerable—with government investment. There are differences of opinion about this approach, but it has the virtue of backing up the full-employment pledge with the promise of a specific and measurable course of action. There are difficulties in this proposal, but they are the difficulties inherent in any attempt at full employment under capitalism, and these difficulties are dodged rather than eliminated by dropping the Patton proposal.

The bill reported out of subcommittee yesterday does not differ substantially from S 380, as introduced last January by Senators Murray, Wagner, Thomas, and O'Mahoney. It provides, as did the Patton measure, for an annual survey of projected investment in a kind of "National Budget," covering the expected income and outlay of the whole economy rather than merely of the federal government. The bill ties itself into knots, bowing, scraping, and leaning over backward, to placate the national cult of "free enterprise," but it does finally say "to the extent that continuing full employment cannot otherwise be assured" the government shall "provide such volume of federal investment and expenditure as may be needed." This is the one concrete way in which the bill promises to implement its pledge that "all Americans able to work and desiring work have the right to an opportunity for useful, remunerative, regular, and full-time employment."

It is at this pledge, and at any dollar-on-the-barrel-head promise to keep it, that the Taft amendments are aimed. One of the weasel-worded changes Taft proposes would substitute for the right to work the proposition that "all Americans have the right to have their governments adopt policies which shall provide to those able to work and seeking work useful, remunerative, regular," etc. Since this is neither a contract nor a mortgage nor even a statute enforceable by litigation, but a declaration of policy, shyster draftsmanship of this kind is apt to prove futile. The importance of the bill lies in the expectations it arouses and the pressure these expectations will exert on government in time of stress. Subtle jokers are unlikely to affect these popular expectations, since few of the jobless will consult a lawyer.

More important than Taft's effort to dupe public opinion is his attempt by amendment to channel Congressional action away from any adequate program to create full employment by federal investment. Taft would eliminate the heart of the bill, the provision quoted above which provides for "such volume of federal investment and expenditure" as is necessary to assure full employment. Taft's amendments would allow for some federal spending as a last resort, but this is all hedged about with assurances of a balanced budget rather than full employment. In subcommittee yesterday he put forward a new one, a proposal for "carefully planned public works" to be "accelerated" when unemployment increases and "decelerated" when unemployment declines. This was successfully attacked as an attempt to limit federal expenditures to public works. It was also objected that Taft's proposal embodied no promise of sufficient public works to generate full employment. This amendment will turn up again in full committee, if not on the floor, for it is nicely calculated to take in the unthinking and the unwary.

The Full Employment bill as it stands is inadequate. Full employment will not be achieved by compensatory government investment. Ultimately we shall have to plan industrial output in terms of human need, guarantee industry a market for full production of annual quotas, and distribute left-over commodities by a stamp plan to the poorest paid. But these long-range reflections should neither deter us from full support of the bill nor disparage the great service being rendered by the Senators fighting for it. The battle over the Full Employment bill is of crucial and historic importance; the bill's imperfections can be corrected by experience; nobody really knows how to achieve full employment under private enterprise anyhow. The important thing is the principle established, the expectation aroused, the pressure generated. Senators Wagner, Taylor, Mitchell, Murdock, and Tobey deserve the highest praise for their brave fight in the subcommittee and full support in the battles ahead.

The fight will grow worse. In full committee the line-up is very close. Two Democrats, Radcliffe of Maryland and Fulbright of Arkansas, are supporting Taft. Bankhead of Alabama is torn between loyalty to the Administration and to the Farm Bureau; the latter, which opposes the bill, will probably win. In that case either McFarland of Arizona or Carville of Nevada can cripple the bill by providing a majority of one for the Taft amendments. If the Administration puts on the heat, it should be able to keep McFarland and Carville, if not Bankhead, in line. In that case, the Full Employment bill is safe. But if it is true, as the *Wall Street Journal* reports, that Democratic leaders "are telling members Truman's 'liberal' proposals are long-range, not immediate," Taft will win and full employment will lose. I might add that the bill will face even tougher opposition in the House, though Patman and 105 other Representatives are jointly sponsoring the measure.

I end with two sidelights on the bill, one sad, the other amusing. The sponsors of the bill found it necessary in its most recent revision to omit from the statement of purposes "the full utilization of our national resources." Behind the talk of "free enterprise" to which they must make concessions is a deeply rooted philosophy of scarcity. The amusing sidelight concerns Taft. Four Republicans supporting the bill—Morse, Tobey, Aiken, and Langer—put in some excellent amendments. One provided that any full-employment program should be accomplished "without resort to measures or programs that would create unemployment or impede the improvement of living standards in other nations." This had to be watered down to a compromise provision against "economic warfare" because Taft (and Radcliffe) objected that it might interfere with such measures to protect American industry as export bounties or merchant-marine subsidies. The stalwart supporters of "free enterprise" seem to feel no twinge of inconsistency between their ideological tub-thumpings and their consistent pursuit of governmental intervention to give favored producers unfair advantages. The spectacle is a familiar one, but none the less nauseating.

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The Tragedy of German Labor

BY SAUL K. PADOVER

(Historian, political scientist; author of "Jefferson" and other books; before the war assistant to the Secretary of the Interior; during the war an officer in the army's Psychological Warfare Division)

MY CONCLUSIONS about Germany, which I shall state before the arguments, are seemingly paradoxical. (1) German labor's record under Hitler was, from the point of view of democracy, miserable. (2) Without German labor, especially without the Social Democrats, there can ultimately be no democracy in Germany. (3) Military Government, aware of the first fact, is blind to the second, and in the name of democracy is supporting anti-democratic elements.

I am writing from fairly close contact with MG and extensive experience with Germans of all classes. I entered Germany with the army in the first weeks of our penetration and spent the succeeding period of the war in the Reich investigating conditions and interrogating German civilians. It is particularly important for those who are concerned with the future of democracy, especially in Europe, to have an unsentimental appraisal of liberal elements and tendencies. Without a knowledge of the facts, we shall not be able to formulate an effective program for Germany or, what is more important, correct MG in its waywardness.

First, the story of German labor.

After we took Aachen I had occasion to discuss the German labor movement with former Social Democratic trade-union officials. One of them said: "The workers? They have been the greatest disappointment of all. They are not in the least anti-fascist." I thought that this was the judgment of a frustrated official. But there was nothing particularly subjective about the comment of another Aachener, a conservative lawyer who was one of the city's many Bürgermeisters. "Our German workers," he said, "have never caused the Führer any difficulties. All they asked for was bread and beer, and they shouted Heil Hitler!" Farther north, in the coal region, a class-conscious proletarian miner spat contemptuously at the mention of German labor. He said that the German workers were "spineless and gutless" robots. *"Knechtseelen"* (souls of slaves), he called them. And in Düsseldorf a prominent Ruhr industrialist said to me blandly: "No, we never had any trouble with labor during the war. They never sabotaged or slowed up their work. They were very loyal."

The deeper we entered into Germany the more we found that these comments were well founded. We discovered to our astonishment that all the pre-war rumors about a German underground were hardly more than that—rumors. We found that talk of resistance on the part of labor during the war was propaganda—possibly manufactured by Goebbels to mislead the Allies. We learned that the German workers were among the most reliable and unwavering supporters of Hitlerism.

I kept on asking why? I knew that the German trade-union movement had served as a model for the world and that it had given the German worker dignity, security, and numerous social benefits. I was aware that the German Social Democratic Party, a labor party, had been strong enough to found the Weimar Republic on the ruins of the Kaiser's empire. And the Communists too, I recalled, had polled nearly 6,000,000 votes in the 1932 elections. What had happened to all these people?

WORKERS THOROUGHLY "COORDINATED"

The picture as it emerged from a prolonged investigation is not conducive to optimism, but on the other hand it helps to chasten our judgment. We must remember what happened. To begin with: the Nazis cleverly realized that the German is an obedient soul addicted to organization. They knew that the German trade unions were over-organized and over-disciplined, much like the Prussian army, and that the way to control this delicate mechanism was to destroy its leadership. When the Nazis seized power in 1933—without the resistance of the Social Democratic leadership be it remembered, although many of the rank and file were ready to fight—they did not molest ordinary workers, ordinary Socialists, or ordinary Communists. Instead, they rounded up the Socialist, Communist, and trade-union leaders and officials and other individuals of prominence and threw them into concentration camps, where many of them, perhaps most, were massacred. After that, Hitler had no difficulty in taking over the whole trade-union mechanism and incorporating it into the Nazi party machine. And German psychology being what it is, the workers who had previously voted red and saluted with the clenched fist, now for the most part voted *Ja* and saluted with the outstretched arm.

Psychologically, the Nazis well knew how to handle the workers. They flattered and wooed them in all kinds of ways. They preserved the old Socialist holiday, May 1, as Labor Day. They set up a Labor Front for the "benefit of labor." They wrote miles of copy on the "dignity of labor." They organized *Kraft durch Freude* excursions for poor workers. They gave laborers vacations with pay. They set up labor trustees in the factories and shops to whom the workers could go with their grievances.

Not all these Nazi institutions were phony. Some were of obvious benefit to the workers. I recall a complaint made by a Ruhr manufacturer, a young man who had joined the Nazi Party in 1929 and was an ardent admirer of Hitler. He said to me: "There were some things I did not like about the Führer's policies. His treatment of labor I liked least of all. In my own factory, where I employed 450 men, I had less

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to say when it came to personnel problems than the labor agent who was put in by the Nazi Party. Often he listened to the workers instead of to me. And me an old party member!"

It should also be remembered that the Nazis were not foolish enough to give the workers merely circuses. They also gave them bread. Under the Republic millions of persons had been unemployed. The Nazis abolished unemployment. True, they did it by building wonderful *Autobahnen*—we certainly appreciated them in the spring of 1945—for which there were few automobiles and by manufacturing armaments for which there was no immediate consumer market, but this did not trouble the average worker, who was satisfied with a steady job and good pay. As a matter of fact, pay in Germany was so good that even today most people have plenty of money. During the war prices were kept within reasonable limits and the workers were able to save considerable sums, particularly since there were also many shortages.

By the time the war came, German labor was already thoroughly coordinated and if there was discontent it was inaudible. Up to 1939 Hitler's Reich enjoyed considerable prosperity; afterward the first two years of the war brought immense loot into the country. German labor, together with German Junkers and farmers and business men, shared in the spoils.

For German labor there was never any awakening. A time came when the middle classes and more particularly the top officers realized that the game was up, that the Führer could not deliver what he had promised, and that therefore it was necessary to save what was left of Germany by liquidating the Great Man. Labor was not an active participant in the plot, despite some recent claims by certain apologists in this country. Drugged by years of propaganda, and perhaps also contented with work and wages, the workers displayed a coolie-like indifference to political problems and to the future.

Apathy is apparently a communicable disease, and the few pre-Hitler labor leaders who survived the Nazi slaughter were stricken with the same sickness of irresponsibility and political confusion that ravaged the rest of the country. I know of one eminent labor personality, a leading figure in the left wing of the Catholic Center Party, who was approached by the anti-Hitler conspirators in 1942 and asked to give the plot his support. The conspirators, headed by Leipzig's Mayor Gördeler, were mainly army officers and would need some show of labor support if they succeeded. The labor leader told me that for two years—until the attempt on Hitler's life in July, 1944—he participated in the secret meetings of the conspirators, but only as an observer. At the last secret meeting, which took place at Godesberg, he said to the conspirators: "My friends and I will cheerfully welcome the elimination of Hitler, but we will not cooperate with militarists. If you, Herr 'Müller,' succeeded in killing Hitler, I would jump up and cry 'Hoch Müller,' and immediately afterward, 'Down with Müller.' I would appreciate your deed as a tremendous service to Germany, but I would deplore your taking power in the name of generals. I would go up and down Germany urging the people to put up monuments in your honor but to keep power out of your hands."

I ran into a similar situation in one of the biggest cities in the Ruhr. We needed a Bürgermeister, and the only qualified non-Nazi we could find was Herr Holzmann, formerly the business manager of a number of Socialist trade-union newspapers. When I interviewed Herr Holzmann he expressed happiness that Germany had "at last been freed from the yoke of Hitlerism." He was most grateful to the Americans, he said. When he was asked to show his gratitude by accepting the job of mayor of his home city, Herr Holzmann's face registered a series of emotions—surprise, embarrassment, fear. He was not worthy of so great an honor, he stammered. It sounded unconvincing, and he hastily added that he could not accept such a great honor without first consulting his Social Democratic colleagues. But it was not possible to consult his colleagues, he explained, because the bombings had scattered them and he did not have their addresses. Suppose he gave us the names and we located his colleagues? No, no, that would not help either because he had no means of transportation. Well, we would give him transportation. Herr Holzmann shook his head desperately. Really, really, he wished the American Military Government would not force him into such a difficult post. I said: "The Americans don't *force* anybody to do anything. All I can say is that if you, a Social Democrat and a representative of labor, do not have in you a sense of duty to your guilty country or a sense of obligation to the liberated workers, then one may conclude that Germany is indeed beyond redemption and should be abandoned to its fate." His reply was characteristic: "If you, sir, think it is my obligation to accept, then of course I *must* accept."

COMMUNISTS AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

And what about the Communists? Everywhere we went in Germany middle-class people warned us against the "dangers of communism." Upon investigation this turned out to be a mixture of prevarication and political hypocrisy. The truth is: we found few real Communists in Germany. By 1936 or 1937 the Nazis had exterminated the party leaders whom they had succeeded in capturing. As for the Communist members and voters, it is an unpalatable fact that many of them became Nazis. The old joke that a Nazi was like a beefsteak—brown outside and red inside—had grains of solid truth in it. In the coal-mining areas in the Rhineland we found that approximately one-third of the members of the K. P. D. (*Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands*) abandoned the hammer and sickle for the swastika. The other two-thirds, mostly older men, remained true to their faith, but without leadership and without a program they sank into apathy and the bitterness of frustration.

Germany is the only country in Europe where the Communists have no moral ground to stand on and no record of resistance to the fascist tyranny. Everywhere else, notably in France and Belgium and Italy and Yugoslavia, the Communists were heroic fighters against fascism and frequently the backbone of the resistance movement; but in Germany, particularly during the war, Communists accepted Nazism like the rest of the population.

A few days after we liberated the Buchenwald camp I ran into the prize German bolshevik. He was a thin little fellow who had spent all the years of the Hitler regime in various concentration camps and somehow survived. In Buchenwald he was a leader in the Communist-dominated committee that had a good deal to do with the internal administration of the camp under the S. S. As I was listening to him

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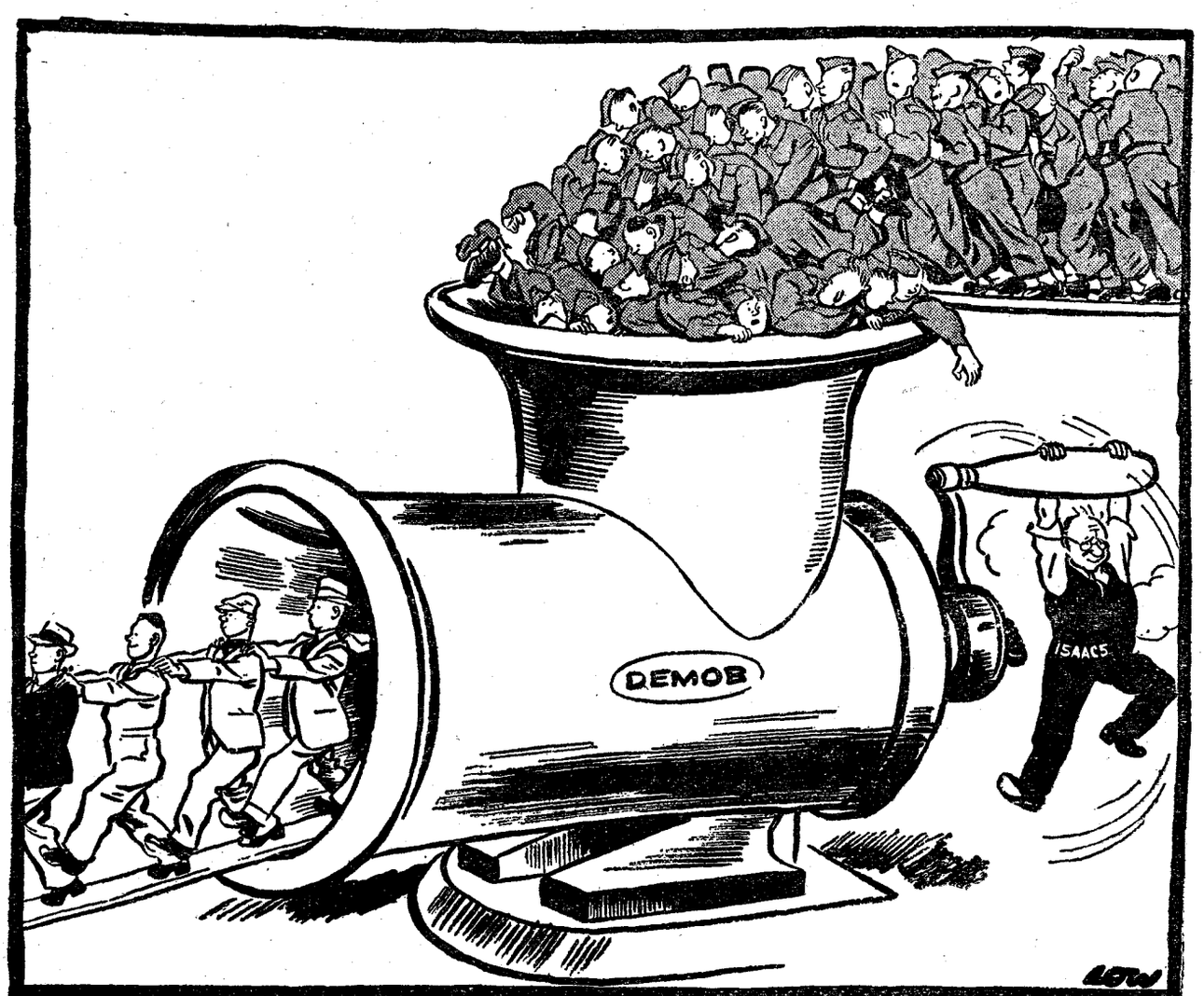
in front of the crematorium—where the heaps of human bones and ashes left one bereft of speech—he noticed a Polish prisoner carrying an armful of clothing and shoes—obviously looted stuff. The little Communist turned on the Pole and upbraided him sharply for "robbing German homes." I told the Communist what I thought of his nation for having enslaved and murdered millions of innocent human beings, and I asked him whether a pitiful slave-prisoner did not have the right to get something to wear, even if he took it from a German home. The Communist muttered, *"Ja, ja, aber man muss ordentlich sein"* (Yes, yes, but one must be orderly), and he repeated stubbornly, *"Man muss immer ordentlich sein."* Such people do not make revolutions.

Whether a revived Communist Party would make headway in Germany—outside of the Russian-occupied area—is problematical, unless MG policies drive German labor into the not unwilling arms of Moscow. The more intelligent older workers recall, not without a touch of bitterness, that the Communist Party of Germany was one of the prime instruments in the destruction of the Weimar Republic and in the annihilation of German democracy. Up to the end of 1932 the German Communists' slogan was that the enemy (of the working class) was socialism, not Nazism; their program was: destroy the Republic first, Hitler later. The German Communists achieved 50 per cent of their program.

The Social Democrats still have a large actual and potential following among the German workers. They lack, however, a program that makes sense and, above all, self-confidence. The Social Democratic leaders who survived under Hitler are older men, weak and vacillating and troubled by a bad conscience. Unlike the Communists, few of the Socialists ever became active Nazis; on the other hand, like the Communists, they did nothing against the Nazis either. Their record up to the outbreak of the war was pitifully inadequate; their record during the war, which in their hearts they condemned, is beneath contempt. They knew that the war was unjust and of Germany's making, but they never raised their voices in protest. They knew, as did most other Germans, that the German government was gassing and burning to death millions of guiltless people, but they never made a gesture of resistance. To protest or to resist meant death or the concentration camp, and especially in the last years of the war there was not enough moral courage left among the 70,000,000 Germans to produce martyrs or protesters or resistants. One thinks of the thousands of French resistants murdered by the Gestapo; one thinks of the thousands of Polish and Greek and Norwegian and Yugoslav underground fighters massacred by the S. S.; one thinks of the handful of desperate Jews, wretchedly armed, who held up the Wehrmacht for many days in the battle of the Warsaw ghetto—and one wonders why only the voice of servility came out of Germany and no cry for justice.



"WE ARE (PUFF!) DOING OUR (PUFF! PUFF!) BEST"

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Last winter I spent an afternoon with a master mechanic who had been a lifelong member of the Social Democratic Party. He told how he had brought up his only son in anti-fascist principles, how he had taught his boy that "fascism means the death of humanity," and how the son grew up to hate Hitler and all his works. The boy was drafted into the Wehrmacht, and at the age of twenty-three he fell near Sebastopol. His last letter read: "Dear parents, don't send me any more food parcels. . . . My hour of death is near. . . . I die for my wife and child, not for the Hitler system." The father's voice trembled as he said to me: "When the news of the boy's death came I said to myself, ten times better that he died that way than that he should have died for fascism." Then he pounded his fist on the table and cried for heaven's vengeance upon Hitler and his fascist gang. During the war this man had worked in a factory making precision instruments for submarines. I asked him what he did to show his resistance to Hitler's "unjust fascist war." "Resist?" he exclaimed; "how could one resist? *Es war doch verboten.*"

The great god *Verboten* dominated the lives of Hitler's workers. They were told that it was *verboten* to have anything to do with the foreign slaves—their fellow-proletarians. And it is a tragic commentary upon German laborers that they obeyed orders. In private some German workers bewailed the fate of the miserable wretches who were dragged from their distant homes and deprived of human rights—including the right to marry, the right to speak, the right to enter restaurants or movies, the right to receive wages, the right to buy necessities—but in practice they did little or nothing to help them. As a matter of fact, German workers frequently showed contempt for the "inferior races" who worked beside them in shops and factories.

WHOM ELSE CAN WE TRUST?

It will be asked: If such is the character of German labor, how can we hope for a democratic future in Germany? And is, then, MG not right in treating all Germans more or less alike? The truth is that unless we intend to abandon the Reich entirely to the fascists and their cousins the Pan-Germans, we have no choice but to put our hopes on the workers. This may sound like contradiction of what I have said about them, but an analysis of the German class structure leads to no other conclusion.

Whom else can we work with in Germany? The farmers are stolid and unpolitical, and are inclined to support any regime that does not bother them too much. The upper strata, including industrialists and clericals, are opportunists whose only loyalty is to themselves and whose only interest is self-interest. They supported Hitler because he was successful; now they are collaborating with us because we are victorious. They are not our friends, and they are certainly not the friends of Germany's potential democratic elements. As for the middle class, it is one of Europe's tragedies that the German bourgeoisie was nurtured by autocracy and not by revolution. By and large, the German middle class has no tradition of liberty and no interest in democracy, because it came to power and maintained itself in power through an alliance with the feudal aristocracy. Many of the more intelligent members of the middle class, especially lawyers and business men, are playing with the idea of setting up a corporative state as an answer both to Nazism, which is not popular with the Americans, and to democracy, which is feared by the bourgeoisie. (This experiment, which I hope to describe in a subsequent article, was tried in Aachen under the nose of MG.)

But the German workers, despite their spinelessness, are not wedded to any program of world conquest; they have no vested interest, either emotional or economic, in war or expansion. They are susceptible to democratic ideas, to which so many non-proletarian Germans are so sneeringly hostile, and their leaders, particularly the Social Democrats and the left-wing Catholic Centrists, have a strong pro-Allied orientation. Moreover, in 1919 the German working class—and the fact deserves to be stressed—made a fair effort to establish a democratic republic, a republic which the bourgeoisie never really accepted and which it knifed in favor of a fascist dictatorship in 1933.

Labor's record, since the occupation, has been consistently good. In numerous instances workers hailed us as "liberators" and offered to help us against the Nazis. Frequently they were cold-shouldered by MG, especially when they were Socialists or Communists, but they have permitted no resentment to dampen their desire to cooperate with the occupation. Gradually, as the grip of the Nazi terror vanished from their memories, they began to show a certain amount of political awakening, which took the form, in such cities as Leipzig and Cologne and Munich, of protests against MG's appointments of Hitlerites to office. Elsewhere the more intelligent and politically conscious workers—a minority, to be sure—met in small groups and drew up lists of fascists.

It seems to me to be the height of political shortsightedness to reject, as we do in Germany, actual and potential political allies. German workers, especially the politically experienced Social Democrats, are ready for full cooperation, and with our help they could lay democratic foundations in the Reich. At present they are weak and beaten and humiliated, and they have, of course, a bad conscience. To make them effective allies, we must restore their self-confidence and treat them with respect, not suspicion. It is, furthermore, our plain duty to use this potentially democratic material properly, and teach it our democratic ways. If we do not, if we continue our present policy, we shall ultimately drive these people either into the arms of the Communists or into those of the extreme nationalists.

Some day we shall get out of Germany, and to whom shall we leave the destiny of the country? To the clericals, *à la* Dollfuss? Or the industrialists? Or the generals? That would be to invite black reaction and, inevitably, war. It is, indeed, strange that the Americans, who profess democracy, have been so timid about encouraging democracy, while the Russians have boldly supported Communist and even other anti-fascist activities in their zone. The German Communists' record of resistance to Nazism was no better than that of the German Social Democrats, but the Russians do not let that consideration interfere with their long-range program. Can it be that we have less confidence in democracy than the Russians have in communism?

[*This is the first of a series of articles on Military Government and democracy in Germany.*]

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The Constitutional Debate in France

BY FREDERIC POTTECHER

(A French journalist who during the German occupation edited a clandestine paper in Corsica. He now broadcasts from the French government's short-wave station in Paris, using the heading "Mot du Jour de Jean des Vosges.")

Paris, September 12 (by cable)

ALTHOUGH the debate is not yet closed, the problems which the French people face in their search for a new and more democratic constitutional framework are now clear. The charter of the Third Republic, framed in 1875, might have been taken as a point of departure, but it is felt, particularly among the newer parties and groups, that the document is outmoded and that its application, even if only temporary, would be dangerous. General de Gaulle and his government have also taken a strong position against a return to 1875. Meanwhile public opinion is divided between two opposing tendencies. All the parties and "movements" which have come out of the Resistance declare themselves in favor of a single, all-powerful Constituent Assembly to which the government should be entirely responsible. The Radical Socialists and some of the Socialists, on the other hand, are against such a radical solution.

The dispute began the day General de Gaulle asserted that a sovereign Constituent Assembly might lead to dictatorship. This is surely true, and if he had stopped there he could probably have avoided the passionate tone which the dispute has since taken on. But he went on to say that pending the formulation of the new constitution—that is, for a period of seven months at most—the government should not be answerable to the Assembly except in matters having to do with the budget, military affairs, structural changes, and the ratification of treaties. Immediately a storm of polemics arose, and the majority of delegates to the Consultative Assembly ranged themselves against General de Gaulle. It is clear, said the delegates, that while the head of the government fears the dictatorship of a sovereign Assembly, he is quite willing to impose upon the country, at least temporarily, the semi-dictatorship of the government. And at once one heard suggestions of a desire for personal power on the part of General de Gaulle.

In the face of this controversy De Gaulle proposed that the will of the people be consulted. The people, he said, can make known their wishes by means of a referendum on two questions which, translated from their legal phraseology, ask, in effect, "Do you want a new constitution rather than the constitution of 1875?" and "Do you want a Constituent Assembly with limited powers rather than a sovereign omnipotent Assembly?" De Gaulle asks for a "yes" answer to both questions, insisting that the extraordinary powers of the government, if granted by the people, need not necessarily last for seven months, for if the Constituent Assembly is "diligent," the new constitution can be drawn up and applied in a much shorter time; and he has reaffirmed his determination to submit to the charter of the Fourth Republic as soon as it is ready. This appeasement was of no avail, at least not with the majority of the delegates, particularly since the idea of a referendum strikes terror into the hearts of such stalwarts as Paul Bastid (Radical Socialist delegate and editor of *Aurore*), Louis Marin (rightist delegate and editor of *Nation*), Joseph Denais (also a right-wing delegate), whom a strange hazard has made partner-in-arms of the Communist delegate, Jacques Duclos, Georges Cogniot (Communist delegate and editor of *Humanité*), and such fellow-travelers as Pierre Hervé (editor of *Action*).

The argument advanced by the representatives of the Radical Socialist Party and of the Moderates (notably the Republican Federation), enthusiastically seconded by the Communists, is that the referendum proposed by De Gaulle would probably be much more a vote for or against De Gaulle than a really democratic popular consultation. Pierre Hervé, writing in *Libération*, said: "The referendum under present circumstances—and so long as it has not been previously provided for by an elected Assembly as part of our constitutional structure—could only be a plebiscite endangering the Republic." De Gaulle's left-wing adversaries insist that a sovereign Assembly would not necessarily rule out the principle of two chambers or endanger the stability of the government.

The unicameral principle, dear to the Resistance movement, is proving to be another sticky question. The left-wing Catholic group known as the Mouvement Républicain Populaire (represented by such men as Bidault, Teitgen, De Menthon, Schumann, and by the newspaper *Aube*) is in favor of a single chamber, and so are most of the other Resistance groups, the Communists, and a good many Socialists. The Radical Socialists and the Moderates, on the other hand, favor a bicameral legislature. The fate of the Senate is at stake.

To understand the problem of the Senate and the hostility which the upper chamber, now in abeyance, is encountering, it must be remembered that the Senators, unlike the Deputies, were not elected by universal suffrage but by the Deputies of each department, the General Councilors, the arrondissement, canton, and municipal Councilors,* and, finally, the Mayors. Thus their electors were themselves elected. The pressure which the government used on occasion to exert on the Senators by bringing into play the power of the Ministry of the Interior over the Prefects and Subprefects, often in league with the Mayors and Deputies, was notorious. Moreover, the Senators were elected for nine

* There are in France and Corsica 91 departments, 281 arrondissements, 3,027 cantons, and 38,011 communes.

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years, whereas the Deputies were elected for only four. In consequence, although a third of the Senate was renewed every three years, each Senator held his seat through two legislatures. According to the constitution of the Third Republic a Senator had to be over forty years old. For all these reasons, this highly undemocratic body was able to exercise not only a moderating but often a neutralizing influence. It could even override the will of the Chamber and precipitate the fall of a ministry.

It is easy to understand, therefore, why the Resistance groups, the Communists, and numerous Socialists, all animated by a revolutionary spirit, are so opposed to a resurrection of the old Senate. And why, for the same reasons, the Moderates and the Radical Socialists—in other words, the conservatives—cling to it. But in fairness it should be added that some of the supporters of a bicameral legislature are motivated by the belief, traditional in French Republican philosophy, that an upper house is a necessary part of the French system of "checks and balances."

Are the two theses irreconcilable? The deadlock seemed almost hopeless until M. Vincent Auriol, former Minister of Finance and a Socialist of great political wisdom, proposed to the Consultative Assembly a middle way which almost won a majority. The Auriol proposal is that there should be a second house but not a Senate. This house, a National Council, would share the legislative powers exercised by the Assembly except those having a political character. It would not have a decisive voice in matters of budget, upon which the Assembly would have final say. The National Councilors would be elected by representatives of production, commercial organizations, professional federations, labor unions, and the like. The universities, bar associations, various fraternal orders, and so on would also elect their Councilors.

M. Auriol's idea is quite new. There is a real possibility that this National Council, more or less modified, may become the second French legislative chamber. Thus the enemies of the Senate would be appeased and the désires of the bicameralists satisfied.

The principles determining the way the French people are to vote on October 21 and be represented in the forthcoming Constituent Assembly have also become a matter of hot political debate. These principles were set forth in an ordinance of August 17. Each of 506 deputies is to represent on the average some 80,000 continental Frenchmen. The old voting list has been discarded in favor of new constituencies based on population according to the following system: each department will get two seats irrespective of its population; one seat will be granted for every hundred thousand above the first hundred thousand and an extra seat for the remainder if this is over 25,000. This system clearly favors the country regions at the expense of the urban centers. An added objection is that the government possesses no up-to-date statistics. The last census was taken in 1936. Since then a noticeable shift in population has taken place from the country to the city. This makes the government's scheme, published in detail only last Friday, doubly unjust. According to present provisions, for instance, the department of Bouches-du-Rhône, including Marseilles, was given one seat for every 89,000 inhabitants in 1936 while neighboring Lozère was given one for every 49,000. The discrepancy, as everybody knows, is actually far greater than this.

Obviously the section of the population which is hit the hardest by the government's scheme is the workers, who must in many cases muster twice as many votes to elect one delegate as the peasants. That is why the plan has provoked criticism from the ranks of the left and among trade unionists, criticism which has not been appeased by De Gaulle's recent admonition to Léon Jouhaux, head of the Confédération Générale du Travail, to keep out of politics. Jouhaux, it will be recalled, headed the delegation representing the C. G. T., the Radicals, the Socialists, the Communists, and the League for the Rights of Man which sought an audience with De Gaulle to protest against the government's action. That protest has now been presented in the form of a memorandum. Since as the result of De Gaulle's earlier bluntness the C. G. T. recommended to its 5,000,000 members that they vote no on the second question, De Gaulle may be impelled to give thought to the protest. The Minister of the Interior, Adrien Tixier, had a long conversation with De Gaulle the night before last, and it is believed several modifications in the voting law were considered, especially plans for increasing the representation of Paris and other large cities. No figures, however, have yet been published*

General de Gaulle

Another controversy has arisen over the methods of voting. The government plan provides for a so-called *scrutin de liste* by departments. In other words, each party or group of parties must go before the voters of a department with a list containing the candidate for every seat. But the government's proportional-representation scheme, providing for the utilization of the surplus votes to elect minority representatives in each department, means that these lists do not stand or fall together. The system is most complicated, and the result will be that departments where no party's following is overwhelmingly preponderant may have both majority and minority delegates. The left is disgruntled because it feels it may thus be prevented from winning a clear-cut majority as Labor did in the British elections. And many impartial observers, while admitting the theoretical justice of the government's scheme, believe it may have certain

* On September 12, in reply to the memorandum of the left groups, General de Gaulle sent a letter to Daniel Mayer, secretary-general of the Socialist Party, announcing his refusal to alter the system of proportional representation to be used in the elections. He agreed, however, to increase the representation of some of the densely populated areas.—EDITORS THE NATION.

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practical ill effects, particularly in diminishing the government's working majority in the Chamber and making for general instability, perhaps worse than what prevailed before the war.

In short, the new voting law, which is at variance with the Consultative Assembly's recommendations, is meeting with little enthusiasm among Socialists and members of the Resistance. In the same circles, however, not including the Communists and Communist-inspired C. G. T. chieftains, there is a large measure of approval of the government's plan for the Constituent Assembly and governmental continuity. On that most of the people will probably vote yes.

Norsemen's Return

BY H. IRGENS LARSEN

(After Norway was invaded Mr. Larsen crossed the Atlantic in a thirty-foot sailboat, reaching America in fifty-four days. During the war he served with the Norwegian Shipping Commission. He spent last summer in his homeland, returning recently to this country. His last Atlantic crossing—by air—took less than a day.)

WHEN sudden war broke over Norway on April 9, 1940, the nation's leaders managed to do the one thing most needed. In the dramatic meeting of Parliament on April 10 at Elverum, where the government had fled before the German advance, the members made provision for the continuation of democratic government. The King and his ministers were vested with legal authority to direct the fight from abroad during the occupation. Now they have returned, and the threads of government must be taken up where they were broken.

As a first step, and in accordance with its promises, the government in exile resigned upon its return and a new coalition government was formed. The transition went smoothly. The only point of debate was the question whether the returning government ought to be represented in the new government. It was finally decided that the two ablest ministers in the exiled Cabinet, Foreign Minister Lie and Minister of Defense Torp, should continue in their same posts in the new Cabinet. Elections have been called for October of this year, when the new coalition government will have got a good start on reconstruction.

The new Prime Minister, Einar Gerhardsen, was in German prisons in both Norway and Germany for four years, as were most of his Cabinet for shorter or longer periods. It almost seems that a stay in a German jail is now a ticket to prominence in Norway. Mr. Gerhardsen is a member of the Labor Party, which came into power in 1936 and remained in office during the exile, with a token reinforcement from the three other political parties to demonstrate national unity. The Labor Party is expected to gain a majority in the October elections, but conservatives are not dismayed at the prospect since, generally speaking, it stands for the same policies as those followed for a decade.

Collaborationist elements in Norway were not numerous enough in the administration during the war to change materially the democratic setup. The machinery of government continued without interruption and now distributes the supplies which are flowing in. The total supplies at hand are already sufficient to ward off any further threat of starvation. On V-E Day the government in exile immediately translated into action its long-prepared plans, and soon ships of Norway's merchant marine were entering Norwegian ports with cargoes from North and South America and the British Commonwealth—cargoes of wheat and rye, maize for chicken and cattle feed, canned goods, medical supplies, groceries, textiles, leather, and other necessities. Simultaneously the stores that the Norwegian government had built up in Sweden were moved over the border by train and truck. By midwinter a stockpile of the most essential foodstuffs will have been built up. But there are still many holes to fill. No UNRRA supplies are going to Norway, or to any other country of Western Europe; all imports are being paid for by the government in cash. Coal and raw materials for both domestic and export industries are urgently needed.

The acute housing shortage has been handled democratically and efficiently. In Oslo several thousand families were without adequate apartments when liberation came. Overnight, agencies sprang up to assign the apartments released by the departing Germans. Urgency of need decided who should get them; ownership did not count. Furniture which had been used by the Germans was either returned to the old owners or, if Nazi-made, distributed as needed. Other groups of citizens took care of the prisoners released from the German concentration camps. In every field there was a similar response by volunteer organizations.

Though the people were terribly thin and hungry, and lacked consumer goods of all kinds, they had kept up a front of respectability. Suits were pressed and clean even when they had been turned; collars were immaculate, though often enough made out of the tails of the shirt. The women's dresses were made of curtains, tablecloths, and mattress covers. Only paper was available in quantity, which allowed the newspapers to appear quickly in almost normal sizes.

Various essential articles had had to be made out of whatever raw material was obtainable. Timber seemed to be the most versatile material, providing the basis for cattle fodder, edible cellulose, aquavite—from wood alcohol—the only liquor for sale and strictly rationed, and motor fuel; little squares of wood burned in oven-like generators were the only source of power for automobiles and were used in locomotives and coastal steamers instead of coal. The Norwegians kept a certain sense of humor about all these substitutes. The only soap for sale, an indescribable concoction, was advertised as follows: "Buy B soap now—cannot be had after the war."

The government in exile brought home complete blue-

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prints for the control of foreign purchases and for all necessary changes in administration. The new government is now loyally putting them into effect. Business appears resigned to the new restrictions, although it naturally worries about how far they are to be extended. A law has been passed giving wide powers to the Director of Prices, Wilhelm Thagaard, a man who has had long experience in price controls and whose ability is recognized by all parties. He contended that the increasing number of regulations threatened to bury the nation in red tape and that it would be better to give discretionary powers to his agency. The government saw the merits of his proposal, and business men are now watching, not without apprehension, the results of this simplified policy.

The long-awaited money reform, which was imperative to dry up the flood of banknotes left by the occupation government, came into effect on September 10. All paper currency must now be turned in. For the present it is credited to the owner, who receives 100 kroner in new currency, against a punch in his ration book, to tide him over the first week. The principle by which the credits will be adjusted later is not yet known, but the governing idea will be that no one shall keep any undue profits gained during the occupation.

Norway's international currency policy will soon be clarified. The government will probably follow to some extent the example of the other liberated countries and reduce by 20 per cent the international value of the krone, which has been kept virtually at the pre-war level. This may help the export industry to a new start and also support the important shipping industry. There will be no repetition of the error made after the last war, when the value of the krone was maintained at a great sacrifice.

Norway has today a stock of gold and foreign currency —mostly sterling—of about $450,000,000. This includes its pre-war gold, which was saved by being spirited out of Oslo a few hours before the Germans entered and was finally sent to the Western Hemisphere by the government in exile. The country's currency demand for the next five years may perhaps be estimated as about double its liquid funds, and it will be up to the export industry and shipping to provide the difference—probably not an impossible task. Thus a superficial survey indicates that Norway has the necessary funds and earning power to finance the rebuilding of the country and that it firmly intends to depend on its own efforts. It is likely, however, because of the dollar shortage, that international loans will be used to speed up the process; this should be possible without impairing Norway's proverbial credit. New York papers predict that a comparatively large loan will shortly be floated by the Export-Import Bank.

The end of Lend-Lease will not affect reconstruction plans. Even during the war Norway availed itself of Lend-Lease to a very limited extent. The cost of the navy, air force, and army, of government institutions, and of stockpiles of provisions has been paid by the war-time earnings of the merchant marine, although Norwegian ships have generally sailed at lower hire than, for instance, American vessels. Most of the earnings, however, as well as the insurance money for the 750 vessels lost in the war, have been paid in sterling or kroner; so Norway too has an acute dollar problem. Norway's loss of merchant shipping during the war is second only to Great Britain's.

In cleaning out the Nazi traitors the Norwegians have tried to avoid Nazi ruthlessness. Use of the whole apparatus of democratic legal procedure with all the forms of protection it affords even to traitors has meant delay but no dulling of the sting. Capital punishment, which was abolished eighty years ago, has been reintroduced. The two first sentences of death had been given and carried out before the trial of Quisling. In accordance with the new law on capital punishment, which will also be applied to Quisling, the men met their death before a firing squad of ten policemen headed by a police chief. The law calls for executions conducted in strict secrecy, with the public not admitted. People have criticized the prosecution as being too lenient and also as being too severe on the "striped," or border-line, cases; and these diversified opinions probably indicate that a fair middle course has been followed.

When Allied troops entered Norway after Germany's capitulation, they found that the Wehrmacht had already surrendered everywhere to the Norwegian home-front forces. The organization and discipline of the underground militia have amazed the Allies, and there can be no doubt that credit for this is due largely to the old democratic ways of the land and the habit of self-discipline. A photograph which will long be cherished in Norway shows a young bareheaded boy in ski clothes, with the armband of the militia, standing in the Akershus Castle in Oslo and receiving the surrender of the German commander and his aide. When general mobilization was ordered shortly after liberation, the 40,000 home-front fighters turned in their weapons without an incident and were demobilized.

There is a very warm feeling in Norway for the help received from less unfortunate neighbors during the war. The Danes were particularly generous in sending clandestinely, year after year, packages to persons known and unknown in Norway containing butter, eggs, and cheese. The importance of these gifts for the health of the people can hardly be exaggerated, and there is now a touching desire to reciprocate. When a newspaper suggested that people should send part of their scant firewood to the Danes, who will find themselves even shorter of fuel than the Norwegians this winter, wood piled up at the assembly places in greater amounts than the strained transportation could cope with—everybody brought in a few logs in carts, wheelbarrows, and baby carriages. Then another paper got a better idea—to tap Norway's hydroelectric system and make a gift of electric power to the Danes. Whether the idea proves practicable or not, it has the support of the whole population.

The Norwegians also like to demonstrate their gratitude to their liberators. Signs posted all over the city of Oslo in English and Russian say, "Norway Thanks You!" On the Fourth of July the government ordered two minutes of silence in commemoration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and soldiers in the parade of the American army on that day were almost buried under flowers.

The Russian soldiers are equally popular. Norwegians feel little or no apprehension about the presence of Russia on their northern border, where it liberated and still occupies Kirkenes. Perhaps this is a good omen for the future.

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Danger! Venereal Disease

BY ALBERT DEUTSCH

(Author of "The Mentally Ill in America: a History of Their Care and Treatment"; Health and Welfare Columnist for PM*)*

EXPERTS watching the rising curve in the incidence of venereal disease in the armed forces and the civilian population fear that the situation will become extremely grave in the post-war period. The demobilization of soldiers and sailors and the redistribution of displaced war workers will inevitably spread the infection. And the reduction in the number of cases that the use of sulfa drugs was expected to effect has not materialized.

Among our occupation troops in the European theater venereal disease has already reached serious proportions. In August last it was striking American soldiers in Europe at the rate of 150 per 1,000 annually—a figure three times higher than the 1944 rate. An even greater toll has been taken of American troops stationed in the Philippines, where the Japanese occupation left a vast reservoir of civilian infection which the invaders did not bother to treat. In the continental United States, according to Lieutenant Colonel Thomas H. Sternberg, head of the venereal-disease control division of the Army Medical Corps, the rate rose as high as 43 per 1,000 during the first six months of 1945. It was 36 per 1,000 in 1944 and 26 in 1943. The navy's rate has also nearly doubled since 1943.

Military and civilian health officers agree that this sharp rise of infection in the armed forces reflects a corresponding rise among the civilian population. Dr. J. R. Heller, chief of the United States Public Health Service's venereal-disease division, told me recently that reported cases of gonorrhea in the United States had doubled since 1940, although the syphilis rate seems to have remained practically stationary.

One of the most disturbing elements in this picture is the steep rise noted among young persons. The New York City Health Department reports that primary syphilis in the age group from fifteen to nineteen years has risen more than 200 per cent since 1941. Dr. James H. Lade of the New York State Health Department says that in 1944 the rate for early syphilis in the fifteen-to-twenty-year-old group in upstate New York was 114 per cent greater than in 1941. "The urgency of this problem," Dr. Lade adds, "is demonstrated by a review of the course of venereal disease after the last war. It was during the post-war period that the greatest spread was noted. It is apparent that a seeding of the female population has occurred during this war. Unless efforts to find infectious cases are redoubled, a recrudescence of these infections is probable."

The prospect of a post-war epidemic of venereal disease may shock the layman, lulled by tales of the efficacy of the new remedies, but it does not surprise the experts. Military and civilian specialists whom I have consulted tell me that the sulfa drugs, ballyhooed three years ago as sure cures for four out of five cases of gonorrhea, have failed miserably to come up to expectations. Dr. Heller says that the sulfanamides actually cure less than 50 per cent of gonorrhea cases. Many patients have bad reactions when treated with sulfa drugs, and there are many strains of the gonococcus germ which resist sulfa treatment. Penicillin, however, has proved a true wonder drug, and the armed forces are using it instead of sulfa in all gonorrhea cases. Virtually all sulfa-resistant gonorrhea infections can be cleared up by a single dose of penicillin. Most syphilis cases can be successfully treated in eight days. But while penicillin clears up venereal disease with amazing speed, it doesn't prevent it. Ultimately, of course, its expanded use is bound to reduce the rate by eliminating sources of infection, but that time is still well in the future. Moreover, cautious scientists warn us that it is yet too soon to accept penicillin as a sure cure. They recall how the great Paul Ehrlich announced that his salvarsan (606) could cure syphilis in a single massive-dose treatment, only to find his "cured" patients straggling back because the spirochetes had been stunned, not killed. They say it will take several years of observation of persons who have been apparently cured to establish definitely the role of penicillin in the treatment of syphilis.

In the meantime, ironically enough, the publicity given to the penicillin cure is said to have been a factor in the rise of the venereal-disease rate. It is charged that knowledge of the new swift and sure treatment has encouraged sexual promiscuity and carelessness in the use of prophylactic safeguards. People say, "Gonorrhea is no worse than a cold." Unfortunately, gonorrhea and syphilis have in the past often left their victims with serious eye, heart, and nerve ailments, and nobody knows to what extent the danger of such complications has been removed by the new quick cure. Certainly a person who repeatedly gets infected with a venereal disease isn't doing his general health any good, even if the infection is cleared up on each occasion.

We all know that in time of war traditional moral barriers to sex promiscuity are let down. The wonder, say the experts, is not that the venereal-disease rate has risen but that it has not gone much higher under circumstances more favorable to the spread of the infection than have been present at any other time in recent history—millions of men and women in the prime of life leaving home for military service or war work, unprecedented mass migrations with large numbers of people moving from disease-ridden areas of the South to the Northern industrial centers, families broken up, emotional tensions heightened and moral inhibitions weakened by four years of war.

Prostitution, historically the greatest source of war-time venereal infection, was drastically curbed at the beginning of the war by effective federal control and the cooperation of local authorities. Red-light districts were closed down—at least for the duration—in more than six hundred Ameri-

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can communities. Many vice rings were broken up. Some prostitutes, attracted by high war-industry wages, deserted their ancient profession for assembly lines. Stiff competition from growing numbers of amateurs discouraged others from plying their trade. Commercialized vice, therefore, has been a negligible factor in the venereal-disease rate among the armed forces. According to Colonel Sternberg, fully 90 per cent of the army's cases in this country are traceable to amateur girls—teen-agers and older women—popularly known as "khaki-wackies," "victory girls," and "good-time Charlottes."

The sharp war-time rise in infection has been world wide. Virtually no country has escaped. In the Scandinavian countries the great gains made against venereal disease in the past generation were wiped out during the Nazi occupation. Dr. Thorstein Guthe, Assistant Surgeon General of the Norwegian Public Health Service, recently reported that syphilis had increased sixfold in Norway and ninefold in Denmark. Neutral Sweden has had a rising rate since 1942.

The wide prevalence of venereal disease in Germany was a major factor in the army's non-fraternization policy. And the policy was abandoned when it was discovered that soldiers were failing to make use of prophylactic stations after trysts with German women and disregarding military orders to report for treatment because of their unwillingness to pay the $65 fine for fraternizing; the result was 13,000 cases of venereal disease among our soldiers in Germany in the first two months after V-E Day. A number of these men, it was found, were treating themselves with the sulfa pills in their first-aid kit. Such self-medication was dangerous because an overdose of sulfa pills might have grave consequences and an underdose might clear up the symptoms of gonorrhea without curing the disease. The army considered the situation so disturbing that it stopped including sulfa pills in the soldiers' emergency kits. Self-treatment with sulfa by civilians is also becoming a serious problem.

Incidentally, there need be no fear that thousands of G. I.'s will return home infected with a venereal disease. Before a soldier is discharged, he receives a thorough physical examination. If he is found to have a venereal infection, he is hospitalized until it is cleared up.

What worries the health officers is the probable resurgence of organized prostitution when war-time emergency controls are lifted. The police, it is feared, may sink back into their pre-war indulgence of the traffic, and unsettled economic conditions may favor its growth. There is also the danger that returning soldiers who have by necessity or choice practiced continence abroad and come back with an idealized vision of American womanhood may neglect prophylactic measures in casual intercourse with pickups. A "let's-bust-loose" spirit after the taut war years is foreseen.

Yet informed persons, while painting a dark picture of the immediate prospect, retain their faith in the ultimate conquest of venereal disease. They are confident that gonorrhea and syphilis can be eliminated as public-health problems within a generation if measures already known are more widely practiced. A severe outbreak of venereal disease is threatened. But it can be combated successfully by the retention of war-time control measures, closer cooperation between military and civilian authorities in a common drive against sources of the infection, teamwork in all agencies of government, and a greater awareness of the danger on the part of citizens.

Question Mark Over London

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

(The Nation's *London correspondent*)

London, September 13 (by cable)

A QUESTION mark over Lancaster House dominates the London sky. United only by a common desire to avoid publicity on their differences, the Foreign Ministers of the Big Five have gone underground with the prompt decisiveness of Alice's White Rabbit. The only hard news is the provisional adoption of an agenda comprising the questions specifically remitted by the Potsdam conference, namely, the formulation of peace treaties with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland, leaving the possible inclusion of other business for later consideration.

Already there are signs of American-British divergence on the first item. It is agreed that Italy's colonial empire, except perhaps Tripoli, shall be liquidated by transference to trustee status. Secretary Byrnes, deprecating any unnecessary humiliation of the Italians, is likely to propose that Italy itself be the mandatory power. Bevin, modifying the original British proposal for the outright cession of Libya to the Senussi, will nevertheless, at the risk of arousing suspicions about British imperialist ambitions, press the claim for Britain to become trustee of Libya, Somaliland, and the coastal area of Eritrea, ceding Eritrea's inhospitable hinterland to Ethiopia. In this controversy Molotov will probably be neutral, but following the traditional lines of Russian bargaining tactics, he may initially support the extreme Yugoslav claims to Trieste, Istria, and Venezia Giulia, in order to make a deal on the basis of Anglo-American non-interference in Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria and a free hand for the U. S. S. R.—which Byrnes and Bevin will oppose—to negotiate with Turkey on condominium of the Straits. Since it will also be necessary to consider Greek and Yugoslav claims against Italy for reparations, the Greek claim, disputed by Turkey, to the Dodecanese Islands, and the Austrian demand, which Britain is inclined to support, for the return of South Tyrol, it is manifest that the Italian question by itself presents innumerable snags.

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The real obstacles, however, to any progress in the settlement of affairs in Southeastern Europe are the following: First, Bevin's parliamentary statement on foreign policy poisoned the atmosphere and confirmed Russian suspicions that his demand for more representative Balkan governments means that British Labor is Social Democratic in the bad old sense of regarding communism as a worse enemy than reaction. With respect to the British left generally, these suspicions are wholly unjustified. The majority of Laborites recognize that the present shortcomings of Balkan democracy are inherent in the essentially revolutionary situation. Moreover, the Yugoslav, Hungarian, and Rumanian governments are executing admirable land-reform and social measures. Labor also realizes that Anglo-American intervention, however well-intentioned, in behalf of the few undiscredited Social Democrats in those countries is bound, as in Greece, to achieve the unhappy result of intensifying the political division between irreconcilable extremes. Nevertheless, it is essensential to recognize that Moscow shares the belief current in Budapest, Belgrade, and Bucharest that Bevin and Byrnes are maneuvering in preparation for an anti-Bolshevik crusade. Unless these suspicions, however ridiculous, are promptly dissipated, Molotov will stall every Anglo-American proposal for Southeastern Europe.

The second difficulty is found in the big question: Can any finality be reached in the Italian and Balkan settlements isolated from the whole complex problem of European reconstruction? The terms of reference emanating from Potsdam have already been outdated by the overwhelming threat of economic chaos centered in Germany, causing a continent-wide coal famine and a breakdown of transportation. The test of this conference will be its ability to take a last chance to lay the foundations of European cooperation before catastrophe comes, a catastrophe which, according to sober estimates here, would bring more than ten million deaths this winter.

There is a great deal of interest here in the French policy enunciated by De Gaulle in favor of international control of the Ruhr, with allocation of output according to the needs of Germany and the other European countries. De Gaulle's supplementary proposals are not favored by the British left. Except in the improbable event of the French administration creating living conditions superior to those of Germany, permanent French occupation of the west bank of the Rhine would create a German irredentist minority, necessitating the regime of a police state likely to infect the whole of France. The big advance, however, is De Gaulle's recognition that the economy of Europe is essentially dependent on German productivity, which can probably be exploited without risking the reemergence of German domination if Ruhr and also Rhine transport are controlled by an international authority.

If the conference wrangles jealously over the precise administration of the Italian colonies or the niceties of balance among the parties in the Balkan Cabinets while refugee-thronged Central Europe sinks into starvation and pestilence for lack of purposive international economic controls, it will be an indelible crime against humanity.

How St. Louis Got the News

BY WILLARD SHELTON

St. Louis, Mo., September 13

THE bitter three-week showdown fight between half a dozen newspaper unions here and the managements of the *Globe-Democrat, Star-Times,* and *Post-Dispatch* was not adequately reported nationally. The unions won—and it is possible that their victory forestalled the outbreak of labor-weakening campaigns by newspaper managements in other cities.

The unions in the fight, most of which were originally innocent bystanders, are not sure that the St. Louis publishers planned an effort to "teach labor its place," but they believe that if they had lost their battle here, the pattern of the St. Louis conflict might have been repeated elsewhere. One of the Newspaper Guild leaders charges that a new "Mohawk Valley formula" might have been created; and he thinks that the unions checkmated such a possibility with a "Mississippi Valley formula" of their own.

The fight began in the troubled area of relations between publishers and the Carriers' Union (A. F. L.), the same area of conflict which recently handicapped New York newspaper deliveries. The Carriers here had been certified as an appropriate bargaining unit by the National Labor Relations Board, and when the managements still refused to bargain collectively, the union struck. The Pressmen's Union, with which the Carriers here are affiliated, refused to cross the picket lines, and that shut the papers. But the most drastic action was the publishers' next step: all three promptly dismissed most of their remaining employees—editorial, commercial, and mechanical—and the fat was in the fire. The Guild (C. I. O.) and the Typographical, Stereotypers', Mailers', and Engravers' unions (A. F. L.) charged "lockout" and organized for cooperative action.

Spokesmen for management deny that in this course they had any intention of union-busting. They base their case against the Carriers' Union on genuine principle, and apparently some managements did not expect a strike.

The St. Louis Carriers were, to a degree, independent merchants. They bought newspapers at wholesale and themselves hired employees to deliver at retail. They bought and sold delivery routes at an average price of about $9,000; this was a developed trade practice, and the publishers had never received any revenue from sales of routes. The managements had merely a practical veto power over such sales by a carrier.

The managements would bargain collectively with the Carriers, they said, if the Carriers wanted to be considered

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employees in the full sense of the word. But if the Carriers wanted their "property rights" in the routes confirmed, as they did, then the newspapers argued that they were merchants, not employees. The publishers would be liable to state and federal anti-trust prosecutions, their spokesmen said, if they bargained collectively with "merchants" to fix prices. Let the Carriers make up their minds, said the managements, whether to be employees or merchants.

Even after the conflict was settled, the publishers insisted that they had been deprived of a fair test of their position. Under the Wagner Act an employee cannot seek court review of an NLRB certification of a "bargaining unit." The publishers asked the Carriers' Union to file charges of unfair labor practices so that the whole issue could eventually be reviewed in court, but the Carriers refused; after winning the NLRB case they preferred to fight with economic weapons alone.

The locked-out unions kept their heads and rejected rash counsels that they retaliate by calling a strike themselves. Their first step was to set up an Inter-Union Conciliation Committee, which attempted to mediate the dispute between publishers and Carriers. The Guild and the A. F. of L. mechanical unions never declared themselves, in fact, in support of the Carriers' position.

They did, however, take steps to protect themselves. After sitting for fifteen days without jobs, they got out a newspaper themselves. The news-starved people of St. Louis bought it avidly, and as a public service and a source of income for the jobless, the project was a brilliant success.

The St. Louis *Daily News* ran just five days and will probably never be published again. It operated under handicaps; its wire service was Trans-Radio Press, and it was printed in a commercial plant, with an apartment above the plant serving as "editorial offices." Its daily press run was restricted because of rationing to 100,000 copies, four pages on week days and eight on Sunday, but it printed brief accounts of the essential news. It also gave the locked-out unions a medium of expression, and they did not hesitate to say how they felt at being abruptly laid off their regular jobs. On Wednesday, September 5, the War Production Board allotted sufficient newsprint to the union paper to let it print 300,000 copies of a twelve-page daily. The next day the managements of the regular dailies settled with the Carriers' Union, agreeing to buy out the Carriers' routes and bargain collectively. They settled another protracted dispute with the Typographical Union with retroactive pay increases and agreed to full back pay for all employees laid off during the strike.

What can fairly be charged against the St. Louis managements? The afternoon papers—the *Star-Times* and the *Post-Dispatch*—are famous fighting exponents of liberalism. They are not afraid of local commercial and banking pressure, which is a major test of journalistic liberalism. It is difficult to believe that their responsible managements would deliberately embark on a union-weakening campaign.

Yet the fact remains that the controversy was eventually resolved on terms which the Carriers themselves had originally proposed as an acceptable compromise. When the pressmen closed the papers, the managements the same afternoon began sending out telegrams dismissing their remaining staffs, except department heads, "until further notice." Some of these telegrams were delivered late at night to employees who had given twenty to fifty years of loyal service. The haste with which the managements decided on this serious step argues premeditation, and this view is supported by the fact that discussions with the Carriers had proceeded for many months and none of the other unions knew a crisis was approaching or what the managements intended to do. Interestingly enough, a few years ago all St. Louis newspapers purchased strike insurance.

Had the unions been beaten, additional cases might have arisen in which publishers, resisting one union, would adopt the same strategy of a complete shutdown and lockout against other employees. The Mississippi Valley plan, under which the Inter-Union Conciliation Committee issued a newspaper which both served the community and gained revenue, seems likely to discourage such attempts. The elements of the union victory were C. I. O.-A. F. of L. solidarity and brilliant labor leadership.

In the Wind

LAISSEZ FAIRE: Daddy Warbucks has suffered the slings and arrows of reduced fortune during the war. When asked by naive little Orphan Annie why "some papers and commentators" said horrid things about him, Daddy answered, "Oh, I guess it was fashionable to sneer at 'big incomes.' . . . They fail to mention that most of those big incomes go to pay everybody's bills, and make the load lighter for everyone else! I believe that the more a man makes honestly, the more he helps this country and everybody in it. . . . What I think we need is a lot *more* million-a-year men! Mighty little *they* can *keep* anyway. . . ."

DEFINITION: The Texas public was further enlightened by this maxim which appeared in the Austin *American* on August 2: "Anti-discrimination means you can force somebody to give you a job if you're one of a minority, but otherwise you must take what is left."

V-W DAY: The *Wall Street Journal* is joyous over the surrender—of the workers. In its issue of August 23 front-page headlines read: "Employers' Turn; Workers Accept End of Coast's War-Boom Employment Gracefully; Firms Revel in Luxury of Insisting on Competence; Youngsters Are Resentful." The article goes on to say: "And except for the tantrums of a few youngsters who never had to hold a job under peace-time conditions, labor is taking its new status gracefully."

CHALLENGE: A note by Walter B. Pitkin in the recent book "Population Roads to Peace and War" says: "While the authors of this book were correcting the galley proofs, in March, 1945, General Charles de Gaulle appointed an eight-man commission to add 12,000,000 babies to the population of France within the next decade."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. We will pay $1 for each item accepted.*]

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Christianity and Revolution

BY HANNAH ARENDT

WHILE it is already obvious that the Christian churches in Europe have survived fascism, war, and occupation in their religious as well as their organizational aspects, it is still a question whether we shall see a general Christian and especially Catholic revival in French and intellectual life. There is no doubt about the part played by various Catholic movements and individuals in the Resistance or about the impeccable attitude of the greater part of the lower clergy. This does not mean, however, that these Catholics have a political position of their own. At the moment it looks rather as if the old anti-clerical passions are no longer alive in France—in contrast to Spain and probably Italy—and as if one of the most important issues in French domestic politics since the days of the Revolution is about to depart quietly from the political scene.

We have witnessed one wave of neo-Catholic revival after another since the period of fin de siècle decadence by which they were partly engendered. It started at the time of the Dreyfus affair with the famous "Catholics without faith," who later developed into the Action Française, were condemned by the Pope in 1926, and ended by bowing before their real master, Mr. Hitler. With their boundless admiration of organization for organization's sake, they were the degenerated disciples of De Maistre, that great champion of reaction and greater master of French prose. And one must admit that they brought into the dead boredom of reactionary theories the violence of polemic and some passion of argument.

The "Catholics without faith" loved the church—which is still the greatest example of authoritarian organization and as such has withstood two thousand years of history; they had an open contempt for the content of Christian faith precisely because of its inherent democratic elements. They were Catholics because they hated democracy; they were as much attracted by De Maistre's hangman as the most reliable pillar of society and by the possibility of domination through a hierarchy as they were disgusted by the teachings of charity and the equality of man.

But side by side with these dilettantes of fascism there sprang up a very different Catholic revival movement, whose greatest representatives were Péguy and Bernanos in France and Chesterton in England. These too sought escape from the modern world and, therefore, sometimes stumbled into unhappy alliances with the "Catholics without faith," alliances in which they naturally were destined to play the role of suckers. Witness Jacques Maritain's relations with the Action Française—or the strange friendship between G. K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc. For what these men hated in the modern world was not democracy but the lack of it. They saw through the appearances of democracies which might be more accurately described as plutocracies and through the trimmings of a republic which was much rather a political machine. What they sought was freedom for the people and reason for the mind. What they started from was a deep hatred of bourgeois society, which they knew was essentially anti-democratic and fundamentally perverted. What they fought against always was the insidious invasion of bourgeois morals and standards into all walks of life and all classes of the people. They were indeed struggling against something very ominous, which scarcely a socialist—whose political party, according to Péguy, "is completely composed of bourgeois intellectuals"—clearly realized, namely, the all-pervading influence of bourgeois mentality in the modern world.

It is a remarkable phenomenon, and something to start our progressives thinking, that as far as polemics go these Catholic converts or neo-Catholics have come out as victors. There are no more devastating, amusing, or better-written polemics against the host of modern superstitions, from Christian Science to gymnastics as a means of salvation, to teetotalism, and Krishnamurti, than Chesterton's essays. It was Péguy who discovered and defined the essential difference between poverty—which was always a virtue, for Roman republicans as well as for Christian medievals—and destitution, which is the modern plague reserved for those who refuse the pursuit of money and the humiliations of success. And it was, finally, Bernanos who wrote the most passionate denunciation of fascism—"Les grands cimetières sous la lune"—a knight without fear or reproach, unhampered by any admiration for "historical greatness" and untouched by any secret desire for the necessity of evil.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that none of these individuals was a great philosopher and that this movement did not produce a single great artist. Although both Chesterton and Péguy wrote good poetry, neither will be remembered primarily for his poems. With the exception of "The Man Who Was Thursday," Chesterton's novels are only another form of the essay, and Bernanos's novels are of little interest. Nor was there among them a great theologian. The only neo-Catholic of importance who ventured into this field was Léon Bloy—with rather crude and absurd results, which, theologically speaking, were always on the border line of heresy and sometimes approached the border line of bohemian Kitsch: he maintained, for instance, that women should be either saints or whores, for while saints may be forced by circumstances to descend to the level of the whore, and whores may always become saints, the honest woman of bourgeois society is lost beyond salvation.

Since the turn of the century these converts, it would seem, have felt that their proper field was politics and their task to become true revolutionaries, that is, more radical than the radicals. And in a sense they were right, right at least as long as they remained in the negative and took the offensive. It certainly was more radical to repeat that "it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich

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man to enter into the kingdom of God" than to quote economic laws. When Chesterton describes the rich man who for the pretended sake of humanity has adopted some fancy new vegetarian rule as the man who does not go "without gardens and gorgeous rooms which poor men can't enjoy" but has "abolished meat because poor men like meat," or when he denounces the "modern philanthropist" who does not give up "petrol or . . . servants" but rather "some simple universal things" like "beef or sleep, because these pleasures remind him that he is only a man"—then Chesterton has better described the fundamental ambitions of the ruling classes than have all the academic discussions of the functions of capitalists. And in Péguy's endless repetition, "All evil comes from the bourgeoisie," is more elementary hatred than in the collected speeches of Jaurès.

With the whole of Western culture at stake once bourgeois rule had entered the path of imperialism, it is not surprising that the oldest weapons, the fundamental convictions of Western mankind, sufficed to show at least the extent of the evil. The great advantage of these neo-Catholic writers was that when they went back to Christianity they broke with the standards of their surroundings more radically than any other sect or party. It was their instinct as publicists which pushed them into the church. They were looking for arms, and were ready to take them wherever they found them; and they found better ones in the oldest arsenal than in the half-baked half-truths of modernity. Publicists and journalists are always in a hurry—that is their occupational disease. Here were arms that one could take up in a hurry; had not two thousand years proved their utility? The best among the converts knew from bitter experience how much better it was, how much freer one could remain, and how much more reasonable, if one accepted the single great assumption which Christian faith exacts than if one remained in the turmoil of modernism, which enforces every other day, with a maximum of fanaticism, another absurd doctrine.

There was something more in Christianity than its highly useful denunciation of the rich man as a wicked man. The insistence of the Christian doctrine upon man's limited condition was somehow enough of a philosophy to allow its adherents a very deep insight into the essential inhumanity of all those modern attempts—psychological, technical, biological—to change man into the monster of a superman. They realized that a pursuit of happiness which actually means to wipe away all tears will pretty quickly end by wiping out all laughter. It was again Christianity which taught them that nothing human can exist beyond tears and laughter, except the silence of despair. This is the reason why Chesterton, having once and for all accepted the tears, could put real laughter into his most violent attacks.

If this is the case of the publicists and journalists among the neo-Catholics, the case of the philosophers is slightly different and slightly embarrassing. The point is that philosophers by definition are supposed not to be in a hurry. If one is to judge by the book recently published by Raïssa Maritain,* it was not hatred of bourgeois society which brought the Maritains into the church—although M. Maritain was a socialist in his youth; it was, as Mme Maritain insists time and again, the need for "spiritual guidance." At the time of their conversion it is probable that both of them, and not only Mme Maritain, "had by instinct an insuperable apprehension toward anything concerning political activity, in which I saw—and still do—the domain of what St. Paul calls the evil of time." What separated them from Péguy—a former friendship broke up, strangely enough, because of their conversion—was precisely that they wanted first of all to save their souls, a preoccupation which played no great role in either Péguy's or Chesterton's Catholicism.

The Maritains became converts after having been exposed to the anti-intellectualism of Bergson. It is all to Jacques Maritain's credit that Bergson's attack on reason frightened him so much; the question is only whether a philosopher is allowed to seek shelter so quickly and so desperately. It is true that the teachings of the church still represent a stronghold of human reason, and it is quite understandable that in the day-by-day fight publicists like Péguy and Chesterton took cover as quickly as possible. They were no philosophers, and all they needed was a fighting faith. What Maritain wanted was one certainty which would lead him out of the complexities and confusions of a world that does not even know what a man is talking about if he takes the word truth into his mouth.

But the truth is a rather difficult deity to worship because the only thing she does not allow her worshipers is certainty. Philosophy concerned with truth ever was and probably always will be a kind of *docta ignorantia*—highly learned and therefore highly ignorant. The certainties of Thomas Aquinas afford excellent spiritual guidance and are still much superior to almost anything in the way of certainties which has been invented in more recent times. But certainty is not truth, and a system of certainties is the end of philosophy. This is the reason why one may be allowed to doubt very strongly that Thomism will ever be able to bring about a revival of philosophy.

*"Adventures in Grace." Longmans, Green, and Company. $2.75.

BRIEFER COMMENT

A Poet and His Prose

IN HIS EXCELLENT INTRODUCTION to a selection of Whitman's prose and poetry (Viking, $2) Mark Van Doren remarks that some "consider it a special glory to cease being critical as soon as Whitman's poetry heaves in sight." The consequence is that most readers are for or against Whitman as if he were a candidate for public office. And "Leaves of Grass" is regarded as a sacred text or as the shouting and braggadocio of an overwrought barker. In this new edition the editor's commentary and the ample representation of Whitman's prose should help the reader to see how false both these views are. A poet's prose is always likely to provide a fresh light upon his poetry. This is all the more true of Whitman because of the extent to which his poetry is doctrinal and declarative. In prose, doctrine and declaration require the support of fact and argument. In poetry, invocations and exclamation points may often conceal the absence of perception and understanding. For this reason Whitman's prose can give the reader a purified knowledge of his poetry.

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Whitman was in love with experience to the point of morbid infatuation. He was also in love with the *idea* of experience. The idea of experience is to actual experience as a slick travel folder is to the trip itself; which is to say, there is little resemblance. In "Leaves of Grass" Whitman tried to force his genuine experience to be a kind of witness or proof of his idea of experience, which he further identified with his ideas about America and democracy. In his prose, however, doctrine can be seen apart from observation, and the reader can return to "Leaves of Grass" with an exact measure of Whitman's systematic overestimation of experience. "Democratic Vistas" shows Whitman attempting to justify his idea of democracy against his observation of the degradation and greed of post bellum America. "Specimen Days" records Whitman's daily cultivation of experience, when he did not feel bound to make extraordinary claims for *all* experience merely because he sometimes had a good time. By confronting the reader with Whitman's prose and poetry in the same volume, this new edition gives the reader the kind of help he really needs.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

Once Over Lightly

HARVEY WISH'S "Contemporary America: The National Scene Since 1900" (Harper, $4) is the most recent of a number of serious volumes dealing with twentieth-century American history. The book is competently written, mildly liberal in viewpoint, and exploits to good advantage the available secondary sources. It is, moreover, extremely readable and surprisingly free from major errors. Dr. Wish frankly follows the approach of such cultural historians as James Harvey Robinson and Arthur M. Schlesinger, and valiantly attempts to touch upon almost every aspect of American life. Twentieth-century literature, religion, music, architecture, philosophy, education, and psychiatry, among other subjects, receive treatment, together with more formal political and economic history and foreign affairs.

Within the covers of a 650-page book Dr. Wish has attempted to synthesize his material in terms of "the impact of the metropolis and mature capitalism on American behavior," but the resulting pattern is, unhappily, somewhat superficial and glib. While "Contemporary America" will give the reader a nodding acquaintance with many aspects of American society, it will not provide him with the information or the theoretical framework for coming to grips with major historical forces and developments. The means for understanding the structure and changes of the economy, the behavior of the labor movement, and the character of party politics, for example, are lacking. Nor do the progressive movements early in the century and after the First World War, the prosperity of the twenties, the problem of the farmer, and the depression of 1929 receive the depth or even the extent of treatment they deserve.

In the one paragraph devoted to "explaining" the depression of 1929, Dr. Wish stops short with the observation that "World War tax burdens, unprecedented armament costs, insurmountable tariff barriers, and a persistent decline of agricultural prices were among the international factors leading to the crash of 1929. In the United States . . . additional ele-

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ments of weakness appeared not only in the low purchasing power of our farmers, but especially in the inadequate banking control exercised by local governments and the extraordinary increase of funds which poured into the stock market." This is perhaps the most striking illustration of the one-dimensional character of much of the volume and of the author's caution in rendering judgments.

HENRY DAVID

The New Order in Asia

NOW THAT THE JAPANESE are once more bidding for the sympathies of the world, it is worth remembering the misery which they inflicted on millions of helpless people in Asia. It is easy today to underrate the Japanese. But the record of the Japanese techniques of occupation as presented by Robert S. Ward in "Asia for the Asiatics?" (University of Chicago Press, $3) shows them to have been resourceful as well as ruthless foes. Mr. Ward was in the Foreign Service in Hongkong at the start of the war. He went through the siege, saw the Japanese capture the city psychologically, financially, and economically as well as militarily. The pattern of Japanese rule, which was virtually the same in every city conquered by them throughout Asia, is somewhat confusing to the Western mind, but it was undeniably effective. Under pressure the Chinese, who had been the political and business leaders of the colony under the British, took similar positions under the Japanese. All the movable resources of the colony were seized and, in many instances, transported to Japan. The banking structure was taken over, and by skilful manipulation all money and currency were diverted to Japanese purposes. This looting of the immense resources of the colony often appeared to be uncontrolled; actually it was carried out in accordance with carefully drawn directives from Tokyo. The social and cultural life of the community was also closely regimented. And while the Japanese, to be sure, were never able to win over the minds of the Chinese, they were successful in stirring up a considerable amount of anti-British sentiment and in keeping the people from being aware of the basic issues of the war. The full significance of Tokyo's impact can, of course, only be judged after liberation. But no one can read this book without becoming aware of the immense problems that liberation creates for the peoples of occupied Asia.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

Yankee City

THE THIRD VOLUME of the monumental study of Yankee City, "The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups," by W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole (Yale, $4), deals with the ethnic groups that make up half the population of an industrial New England community of about 17,000 people. They are the Irish, French Canadians, Jews, Italians, Armenians, Greeks, Poles, and Russians—approximately in that order of size and arrival. Using the formidable statistical equipment familiar from the earlier volumes, this study shows how the ethnic groups rise in the Yankee City class system, how their families and churches approximate the native American forms, how they attempt to "become Americans" and at the same time give their children some of the ethnic culture.

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Fall Book Number

Reviews of the more important books appearing at the onset of the Fall publishing season will be featured by THE NATION in its regular Fall Book Number, to appear on October 13.

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The authors conclude their work with a theory of the rate of assimilation of ethnic groups in America. What they choose to call "assimilation," however, seems by their own evidence to be no more than acculturation. Though the American-born generations of ethnic groups reject—the Jews most quickly, the Catholic French Canadians and Irish most slowly—the ethnic language and culture, though they are skilful at learning American culture patterns in public schools and through contact with natives, they still form separate communities. (The crucial data on intermarriage among ethnic groups is unfortunately not given.)

The theory put forth in the last chapter of this book asserts that the rate at which ethnic groups assimilate (the authors mean both assimilate and acculturate) is governed by their likeness, racially and culturally, to the native. The racial or color factor is by far the most important one: thus, Light Caucasoid Protestants (Scandinavians) are assimilated faster than Dark Caucasoid Protestants (Armenians), but these assimilate faster than Dark Caucasoid Catholics (Italians). Thirty categories are thus distinguished—to form a scale which measures the assimilability of ethnic groups in America under present social conditions.

The scale does not seem to me to be a reliable instrument for predicting the ultimate limits of assimilability for ethnic groups, a purpose for which the authors try to use it. *Real* physical and cultural differences—all that the scale takes into account—are irrelevant to assimilability. American anti-Semites will be as little concerned with niceties of skin-color and dialect among the three kinds of Jews distinguished by the scale as were their German brothers; and the Protestant Negro of Category 25 will not find it less impossible to assimilate than the heathen West African of Category 30. Study of the natives of Yankee City would seem to be more important in ascertaining the limits of assimilability than the present magnificent investigation of the ethnic groups.

NATHAN GLAZER

FICTION IN REVIEW

THIS department has been silent for several weeks now, waiting out what it hoped was only the usual summer doldrums, and looking to September, the reviewer's month. But although September, come and almost gone, has brought the inevitable historical romances, psychological thrillers, and O. Henry Prize Stories, not to mention what seems to be the fiftieth full-length production of Faith Baldwin, it has not brought the anticipated relief from the summer's aridity. Of the new fall books, so far, none comes near providing the mature and integrated experience we want in a novel, and only three are even interesting for the light they throw on the psychological temper of the times, which makes the writing of good fiction so difficult.

The most ambitious of this trio is Kenneth Patchen's "The Memoirs of a Shy Pornographer" (New Directions, $3). Mr. Patchen's novel is written in a manner that is still called, I believe, experimental; which is to say that it conforms to no conventional fictional form except the already well-established convention of no form. It is an account of the adventures of a young man who meets fame through the publication of a book in which so many words are replaced with asterisks that it becomes a pornographic sensation. I found this a very funny point of departure for a satire, and indeed, throughout his book, Mr. Patchen gives proof of marked satiric gifts: he is exceedingly knowing, he has a very fertile imagination, and he would seem to be at ease in the world. And yet "The Memoirs of a Shy Pornographer" never does fulfil the promise of its opening. Both Mr. Patchen's intellect and his fantasy are put at the service of a playful destructiveness; they are the instruments of neither an understanding nor an ordering of Mr. Patchen's world. That is, whatever his apparent ease, Mr. Patchen is far too disconcerted by the complicated society which has educated him, and to which he has access at so many points, to be able to face up to its literary challenge. Even as a satirist he cannot be effectual because he is himself overwhelmed by society's effects.

And in Wilder Hobson's "All Summer Long" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $2.50) one sees something of the same phenomenon. Any resemblance between Mr. Patchen's book and Mr. Hobson's, it must be made clear, is wholly fundamental; on the surface, and even several layers below the surface, no two books could be less alike. Where Mr. Patchen's novel is avant-garde in manner, Mr. Hobson's seems to stem from the tradition of Max Beerbohm and the *Yellow Book*. Nor do I think Mr. Hobson intended his story of a Brooklyn Heights gambling casino and its habitués to have any satiric value; he would seem to have had in mind only what he accomplished—a mannerly, craftsmanlike job of light fiction on a sophisticated level. But authors of novels say more than they mean to say. Whether they intend it or not, they speak for a culture, and it is the contrast, in "All Summer Long" as in "Memoirs of a Shy Pornographer," between the author's obvious advantages of education and experience, and the distance he keeps between himself and the world—his refusal, that is, to take responsibility for what he sees and knows—that gives Mr. Hobson's book its cultural significance. Mr. Patchen's novel may be in the literary vanguard while Mr. Hobson's is in the literary rearguard, in the sense, I mean, of its turn-of-the-century style. But the two are identically situated in relation to the central literary problem of our time—the problem of how to take hold of life instead of being inundated by it or a spectator at it.

The third novel of my trio, "Rain Before Seven," by Marc Brandel (Harper, $2), is a rather different case. Though there are reasons to see it as a product of the same culture that produced Mr. Patchen's book and Mr. Hobson's, it outsmarts both of them by falling back on a literary orthodoxy. Mr. Brandel has a much better device for remaining on the sidelines—a good artificial plot. If he is no more willing than the author of "Memoirs of a Shy Pornographer" or the author of "All Summer Long" to face up to life, and if he shares their sin of being up on things rather than in them, he at least substitutes for the responsibility of thinking and feeling the full responsibility of story-telling. Well-written, often witty, and, except for a stretch just before the end, very successful in its suspense, "Rain Before Seven" is the tale of a group of people whose fate is involved with a young man who has a torturing presentiment that he will bring them disaster. I mentioned the connection between

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Mr. Hobson's style and Max Beerbohm's; the connection between Mr. Brandel's theme and a famous Beerbohm theme will immediately suggest itself. (Mr. Brandel himself acknowledges the "purely satirical" similarity between his narrative and "The Bridge of San Luis Rey.") But dramatic contrivance saves "Rain Before Seven" the subtly archaic Beerbohm-ish tone that pervades Mr. Hobson's novel, just as it saves it the free-wheeling fantasy of Mr. Patchen's novel.

DIANA TRILLING

CONTRIBUTORS

HANNAH ARENDT has recently contributed articles on politics to the *Jewish Frontier, Review of Politics, Partisan Review,* and other journals. She is at work now on a book on imperialism.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ, teacher of English at Harvard, is the author of "In Dreams Begin Responsibilities," "Shenandoah," and other books of poetry.

HENRY DAVID is professor of history at Queens College and the author of "The Haymarket Affair" and other books.

NATHAN GLAZER has taught Oriental and African languages at the University of Pennsylvania. He is now on the staff of *Commentary.*

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Is This a White Man's Country?

[*Sgt. Richard Naito, whose letter is published below, is one of two Japanese Americans who were refused membership in Spokane Post 51 of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. His case was referred to by Carey McWilliams in last week's issue. Sgt. Naito's letter, addressed to the Spokane post, reached us through the courtesy of the American Veterans' Committee* Bulletin.]

Dear Sirs: I have received your letter of June 8, 1945, telling me that Post No. 51, V. F. W., has rejected my application for membership. Your letter indicates that the sole reason for the rejection was the fact that I am of Japanese ancestry. It also states that the action does not reflect the opinion of the majority of your membership but was caused by the prejudice of a "few" members, of whom it takes only three to result in rejection of an application.

Twelve months ago on a hot day I was lying in the fields near Pisa, my right leg shattered by a German bullet. Enemy resistance was terrific. Our advance was stopped. I lay there in that field for ten hours, half delirious from pain, almost crazed with fear of enemy artillery that burst around me.

Today on American soil, thousands of miles from Pisa, I have been wounded again by another weapon—hypocrisy, prejudice, call it what you will. Little did I expect as I lay wounded on the battlefield that upon my return home to the people for whom I fought and suffered I would be repudiated!

Like many another American I did not wait for the draft but volunteered to perform what I felt was my duty. The duty to which I refer is the preservation of American democracy. I would like to ask those who rejected me for what principles they fought. Could it be possible that they indorse the statement of a certain California lawyer who defended the burning of a Japanese American's home by saying, "This is a white man's country, let's keep it that way"?

I wonder how the statement of that lawyer would have sounded in the Vosges Mountains at the moment that the "lost battalion" of white Americans was being rescued by the 442d Infantry Regiment, composed of Japanese Americans. Tears shed by the rescued and by the rescuers on that occasion were not manufactured in Hollywood.

While I keenly feel resentment, I do not seek retaliation. I am satisfied that I have performed fully my silent duty as a soldier of war. I turn now to perform my duty as a soldier of peace, a peace that must mean the pursuit of happiness for all Americans, regardless of race or creed.

At the front lines there is a wholesome lack of prejudice. No G. I. under the pressure of imminent death turns to repudiate his comrades-in-arms because of race or creed. Why then must an organization like the Veterans of Foreign Wars, which is composed of my overseas comrades, shun me and my people on American soil? Such an organization should be the very one to advertise the virtues of the Japanese Americans by accepting them into its fold. If an organization like the V. F. W. is going to reject G. I.'s because of race, then what chance do we have to be treated properly by the rest of society?

We who have shown our unequivocal loyalty by positive action on the battlefield and elsewhere against our fascist enemies have no choice and no desire but to remain Americans. It would be tragedy indeed if we were not accepted as such.

Responsible Americans, Americans who treasure the things for which this terrible war is being fought, must not lose sight of the positive duty which is at hand. Suppression of minorities, no matter how slight or isolated, cannot be ignored. These are the small acorns from which only the diseased oak of fascism can grow. Let once the principle become established that the worth of a man is to be measured by the color of his skin, the shape of his head, his national origin, or his religious beliefs—then, indeed, will our democracy be lost. The Japanese of today will become the Negro of tomorrow, the Jew of the next day, the Catholic of the next, and the Italian American, Irish American, Swedish American, Polish American, or Slavic American of the next.

I ask you, for these reasons, to reconsider the action which resulted in my rejection. I ask it not for myself alone but also for the sake of American democracy. Why should Post 51 help the Japanese fascists put over their false

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propaganda that this is a war of the white man against the colored people of the world?

SGT. RICHARD H. NAITO
Baxter General Hospital, June 21

The Voice and the Versus

Dear Sirs: One should expect a lengthy discussion of "No Voice Is Wholly Lost" to contain a statement of the book's specific problem. In his article, Our Culture and Its Critics, in your issue of July 28, Mr. Bentley never gets around to that.

The article does make one contribution: it calls the book "Stalinist." (Another *Nation* reviewer, Mr. Rahv, has judged my Kafka study similarly; in both cases the *Nation* reviewers stand alone in this judgment.) Now, what does "Stalinism" mean? Mr. Bentley says it does not refer "primarily to Stalin," and defines it as "cultural conformity tinged with political reformism," a definition "told" him "by one who makes free with the term." And then, protected by his anonymous authority, he condemns the book on a number of grounds, most of which have no bearing even on his own concept of "Stalinism." He criticizes me for being a moralist, a secular puritan, a "frightened Philistine," an optimist, etc.

Mr. Bentley's definition of "Stalinism" is obviously so loose that it might as well refer to Rooseveltism, Negrínism, or any ism but that of a partisan anti-Soviet. In any case, it has no relevance to the book, which is not concerned with Soviet or any politics. And when Mr. Bentley writes that I show "an admiration of Soviet Russia and its friends," one wonders whether he is discussing "No Voice Is Wholly Lost" or a notion he has gathered elsewhere about my alleged attitude toward politics. But Mr. Bentley criticizes me on an opposite ground as well: this book, he argues, "does not bring the *political* discussion out into the open." That is, he complains that I do beat my wife and that I don't beat my wife. The fact is that my book is concerned with the problem of cultural alienation and not with political alignments. Mr. Bentley almost blunders into seeing that the political is not the yardstick when he wonders why more pages are devoted to Werfel than to Shaw. But he does not mention that sections are given to critics of Russia, such as Gide, Silone, Céline, Santayana, Dos Passos, Claudel, in which their political persuasion appears only peripherally.

The discussion proper plainly shows that Mr. Bentley simply lacks the critical equipment to judge this book. He quotes a topical sentence on Dewey and dismisses it as "philosophical cacophony." The terms used do, however, have meaning, at least to philosophers who have commented on the Dewey chapter. If Mr. Bentley does not understand them, that does not render them "cacophonous." I must add that his discussion shows that he does not understand the method of the book as a whole. What he has done is to hit on the more obvious aspects of the conclusions and ignore the process, that is the psychosocial analysis, by which the book struggles to the conclusion. He writes of its optimism as something prearranged. This does violence to the method used: to give "evil" its historic and formal justification. So little is the optimism forced that at times it is precariously balanced by the perennial validity of estrangement. Mr. Bentley misses all this, and misses the implicit consideration of aesthetic form in the analysis. Throughout, there is reference to ironic self-preservation, metaphorical confession, and other formal and structural elements by which writers transcend temporal-political restrictions.

Our problem is to make use of our mixed heritage. The book argues that no truly creative writer is "wholly lost," however tortured his expression may be through compulsive pressures. The book *is* concerned with revealing the element of validity in such creative minds.

HARRY SLOCHOWER
New York, August 30

Dear Sirs: Mr. Slochower thinks me blindly anti-"Stalinist." Sidney Hook, who roundly condemned me for my own "Stalinism" only a few months ago in *The Nation*, will smile wryly. But Mr. Slochower — to borrow a phrase — "shows plainly that he simply lacks the critical equipment to judge" my piece, which, in point of fact, protested precisely against political prejudice—"Stalinist" or anti-"Stalinist"—in criticism.

Beyond this there are only two points I would bother to make. First: my article was not supposed to be so much a review of Mr. Slochower as a little essay which took his book as its starting-point. Second: Mr. Slochower thinks his book is very good while I think it not very good. Who is to decide between us? Mr. Slochower himself?

ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY
Gambier, Ohio, September 6

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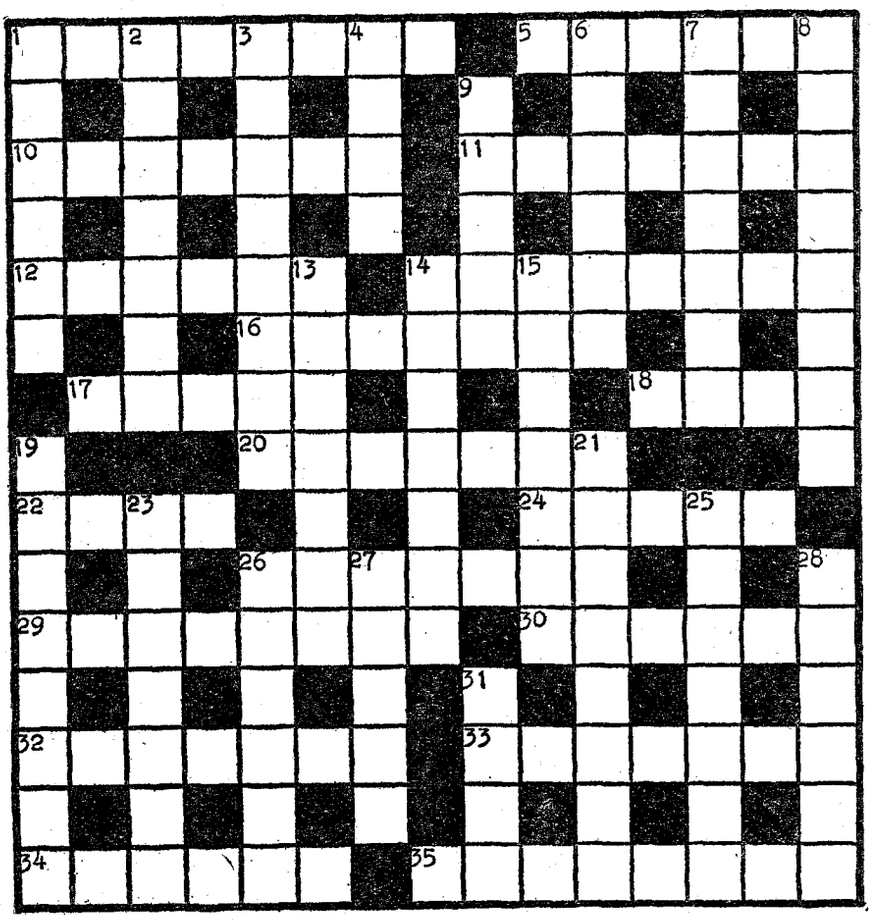
Crossword Puzzle No. 127

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Agreeable
5 It hardly suggests meteorology without tears
10 A horseman puts his foot in it
11 Injuries resulting from upsetting a lioness
12 He planned to murder Orlando indirectly
14 Kind of apple which is half pear
16 A New England state capital
17 Swallows of the sea
18 Hitler's former deputy
20 "--- ----'s punishment is not that he isn't believed, but that he cannot believe anyone else" (two words, 3 and 4)
22 Highway
24 White man's title in India
26 He's generally complaining about something
29 What the conscientious artilleryman does to his gun before abandoning it (two words, 6 and 2)
30 Summer shoe
32 Give a claim to
33 Bids
34 Leading lady in *The School for Scandal*
35 A place for the protection of game animals

DOWN

1 A pointedly dangerous character in *The Merry Wives*
2 Large building
3 Estrange (anag.)
4 Scruff of the neck
6 The stars fought against him
7 Silk stuff on which figures are wrought
8 Foolhardiness
9 There are 38 in this puzzle
13 Go-ahead people
14 Extract and depart (two words, 4 and 3)
15 Books of maps
19 Search for what is already before one
21 A rare bird (two words, 4 and 4)
23 A little air
25 Any writer
26 "A veray parfit ------ knight"
27 Spifflicated
28 Yes, Lee is in Paris
31 "When I am dead, no pageant train Shall waste their sorrows at my ----"

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 126

ACROSS:—1 ELDORADO; 5 STUCCO; 10 TANCRED; 11 NATURAL; 12 CLEF; 13 NESTS; 16 BELL; 17 CERTAIN; 19 ANTIC; 20 NATANT; 22 SKINNER; 23 ALCOTT; 25 WELSH; 27 SIRENES; 31 OARS; 32 EARED; 33 CANE; 36 INVENTS; 37 TRESTLE; 38 ERNEST; 39 CROONERS.

DOWN:—1 ENTICE; 2 DUNGEON; 3 RARE; 4 DODGER; 6 TOTS; 7 CARNERA; 8 OILCLOTH; 9 ANITA; 13 NECKTIE; 14 STUNNER; 15 SINEWED; 17 CISTS; 18 NARES; 21 JACOBITE; 24 CARAVAN; 26 SEATTLE; 28 RAISE; 29 NECTAR; 30 BEVELS; 34 INNS; 35 HERO.

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